

LINGUISTIC AND STRATEGIC FEATURES OF THE LANGUAGE OF LEARNERS

IN ORAL COMMUNICATION EXERCISES

Martin Bygate

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ABSTRACT

The subject of the research is a study of the language used by non-native speakers in five oral communication exercises. The purpose is to develop understanding of the pedagogical effects of their use. The study takes the form of an analysis of the recordings of ten groups of non-native speakers of English. The thesis explores the claim that many of the linguistic features that occur arise partly as strategic responses to the nature of the task, to the participants' background knowledge, or to language processing limitations.

After an account of the context of the research, and a discussion of relevant aspects of oral communication, the five exercises are analysed initially in terms of the formal features of turn length, turn distribution, and a limited number of syntactic types of turn. Statistical analysis suggests certain similarities, and some differences, between the five exercises.

The study then relates the ways the learners structured the tasks and the interaction to the language produced. Next, the speakers' use of syntax is described, as well as that of certain schematically oriented 'formulation' strategies to encode meanings. Finally the analysis focusses on some of the 'execution' strategies used by learners to produce their utterances under the pressure of time. The report is illustrated throughout by frequent reference to the incidence of the various features in the five exercises.

In the ensuing discussion, various pedagogical implications are explored for the use of the exercises, as well as for the exploitation of such exercises in general. It is argued on the basis of the data that there is justification for their use in language classes. The study concludes with suggestions for further research, classroom-based where possible, which might explore the use of fluency exercises in the longer-term context of language development.

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To Anne

'Educational practice shows a continual tendency to oscillate between two extremes with respect to overt and executive activities. One extreme is to neglect them almost entirely, on the ground that they are chaotic and fluctuating, mere diversions appealing to the transitory unformed taste and caprice of immature minds; or if they avoid this evil, are objectionable copies of the highly specialised, and more or less commercial, activities of adult life.[...] The other extreme is an enthusiastic belief in the almost magical educative efficacy of any kind of activity and not a passive absorption of academic and theoretical material. The conceptions of play, of self-expression, of natural growth, are appealed to almost as if they meant that opportunity for any kind of spontaneous activity inevitably secures the due training of mental power; or a mythological brain physiology is appealed to as proof that any exercise of the muscles trains the power of thought.

When we vibrate from one of these extremes to the other, the most serious of all problems is ignored: the problem, namely, of discovering and arranging the forms of activity (a) which are most congenial, best adapted to the immature stage of development; (b) which have the most ulterior promise as preparation for the social responsibilities of adult life; and (c) which, at the same time, have the maximum influence in forming habits of acute observation and of consecutive inference.'

Dewey, J. How We Think. 1910: 43-4.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, foreign language courses have been assessed and developed in the light of two particular criteria the learner's purpose in learning the language, considered in order to select the relevant types of language and skills to be taught; and the degree to which learning exercises require communicative use of language. The present study is in large part a response to these two trends: its subject is the oral skills of learners engaged in communicative exercises. It assumes that oral foreign language skills are worthy of study in their own right and on a par with the study of reading and writing skills. And it takes as the main frame of reference the exercises in which the skills are put to use.

The relevance of studying oral skills is potentially twofold. Firstly, perhaps as a result of the widespread influence of audio-lingual methods, oral skills are very commonly associated with the presentation and practice phases of language classes: in other words, oral skills are generally seen as being taught and learnt in the initial learning phases of the language course. In the light of needs analysis, it would seem worth considering the development of oral skills in their own right. Thus if the teaching of reading and writing skills merits special technical consideration in terms of exercises and learner assessment, the teaching of oral skills deserves similar attention, on specific or general foreign language courses. One of the paradoxes of recent trends in course design is that language teaching specialists concentrate their efforts on preparing courses for non-language specialists, while courses intended to produce language specialists receive relatively little attention.

The second point of relevance in a study of oral skills is that these may be of importance not merely for the language specialist, but also for learners on courses for special purposes. Some learners whose needs are largely for written language skills may still believe that genuine foreign language learning involves learning to speak. And many learners

will also in any case find the oral mode a congenial way of developing their language knowledge. Finally, even many non-language specialists still need to develop oral abilities. This study aims to approach this area of foreign language methodology.

The procedure used is intended to provide information about oral skills in the context of communicative exercises, in order to obtain information about the exercises which might be of use to teachers. Teachers, in attempting to promote learning, do so most typically by selecting exercises for learners to do. The use of exercises requiring the learners to engage in unscripted interaction creates a need for an understanding of how such exercises promote learning, and indeed of what language activity they stimulate. Does it make any difference whether learners use card games or other types of activity? And if so, in what way? This thesis approaches these questions through the detailed study of the transcripts of ten groups of non-native speakers of English working on five communication tasks. The aim is to research the similarities and differences between these specific exercises in terms of the language use and language learning that may occur. The thesis explores the claim that many of the linguistic features that occur arise partly as strategic responses to the nature of the task, to the participants' background knowledge, or to language processing limitations.

After an account of the context of the research (chapters 1 and 2), and a discussion of relevant aspects of oral communication (chapter 3 and 4), the source of the data and the tools of analysis are introduced (chapter 5). The five exercises are analysed initially in terms of the formal features of turn length, turn distribution, and a limited number of syntactic types of turn (chapter 6). Statistical analysis suggests certain similarities, and some differences, between the five exercises. In chapter 7, the study relates the ways the learners structured the tasks and the interaction to the language produced. Next, in chapter 8 the speakers' use of syntax is described, and in chapter 9, their use of certain schematically oriented 'formulation' strategies to encode meanings. Finally in chapter 10 the analysis focusses on some of the

'execution' strategies used by learners to produce their utterances under the pressure of time. The report is illustrated throughout by frequent reference to the incidence of the various features in the five exercises.

In the ensuing discussion (chapter 11), various pedagogical implications are explored for the use of the exercises, as well as for the exploitation of such exercises in general. It is argued on the basis of the data that there is ample justification for their use in language classes. The study concludes in chapter 12 with suggestions for further research, classroom-based where possible, which might explore the use of fluency exercises in the longer-term context of language development.

CHAPTER 1: FLUENCY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE METHODOLOGY

1.0 Introduction

Development within the field of language teaching, methodology could be said to result from a systematic scrutiny of the relationships between educational means and intentions, and pedagogical outcomes. Changes may be proposed either in the intended outcomes, or in the means used to attain them. In order to assess the efficacy of modifications, it is necessary to advance argument based wherever possible on evidence.

In the area of language teaching, there are various sources of relevant information. One may be our personal experience as language learners, as language users, or as teachers. Another may be the experiences of others in the same roles. And a third source may be the results of learning activities at different points during, or at the end of, courses. Gouin on the other hand is reputed to have based his method on the observation of how a child used language to describe the operation of a mill. H E Palmer undertook his 1921 study as a result of his awareness of the striking contrast between the success of the L1 learner and the frequent failure of the L2 learner (Howatt, 1984). As an example of the first type, Brumfit's (1984a) study on the other hand is explicitly based on first hand experience as a teacher. Hosenfeld (1976) relied on subjective accounts by learners of their learning experiences. Finally, a typical example of use of the third source of information is the work of Carrell (1984) who based her study on the comprehension by groups of learners of specific texts. The present study fits broadly into the latter category. Whatever evidence is used, however, if treatment is to be responsible it needs to be as explicit as possible, so that the observations can be seen not only to be reliable and representative, but also usable.

When new learning activities are introduced into the classroom, it is to be expected that this will give rise to fresh problems, in much the same way as any innovation, scientific, institutional or political

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(Popper, 1960: 87-8). Indeed the very application of new technology can give rise to new ways of studying problems, permitting the study of hitherto unexamined questions, and even leading to the discovery of new problems. This study is in many ways a response to a change in teaching methodology.

After a period of considerable empirical methodological research in the 60's, more recent research has tended to avoid examining specific uses of techniques. This may be in large part a reaction against attempts to prove the relative efficacy of different techniques. It may therefore be worth asserting that the crucial question to ask of a technique of teaching methodology is whether it can contribute to making classroom practice more sophisticated, and if so in what ways. Simplistically, this might involve merely arguing for or against the exploitation of a given type of methodology. However where an innovation is wide-ranging, what is far more likely - although open to investigation and discussion - is that it will require and allow for a variety of responses both from the students and the teachers involved, if it is to make a qualitatively significant contribution to pedagogical practice. The ability to understand and anticipate a range of potential responses on the part of students is important if the teacher is to be able to exploit the methodology fully. This approach and general expectation is the basic assumption of the present study.

In what follows we first consider some major principles in the development of foreign language teaching methodology, and significant features of its recent history, referring where appropriate to related influences and trends in general educational theory. We trace methodological development in FL teaching under the defining influences of the learners' interests; learning objectives; and the learning activities. We conclude that recent developments have brought about an innovation in learning activities, at least in terms of the concerns that the profession has made explicit. In general terms this has involved the teaching of fluent use of the language.

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1.1 Recent developments

In 1970, Jakobovits outlined a programme for improving foreign language teaching:

We must first be aware of how the larger socio-political context influences the interests and needs of the students [...]. We must second have clearly in mind what the specific goals of a particular course are, not in terms of some abstract and irrelevant criterion as indexed by a discrete-point language test, but in terms of terminal behavioural tasks [...]. Then, finally, we must expose the student to practice situations which will enable him, in whatever mysterious ways learning takes place, to attain the specified goals within the limitations and restrictions imposed by the learning context.
(Jakobovits, 1970: 146)

A concern with the interests and needs of the learners involves attempting to relate the teaching to the specific students; the goals are to be defined in terms of terminal behaviour, which should affect the organisation of the course; and thirdly, and perhaps crucially, the course should set up learning opportunities which will lead to those goals. These three areas of concern have proved to be central to professional debate ever since. Thirteen years later, Widdowson defined the problem along similar parameters:

A central problem in education is to know how to define objectives so that they project students towards the achievement of aims, how to fashion particular subjects so that they have relevance beyond themselves.
(Widdowson, 1983: 7)

The students' interests are central:

the important point is that the course content should be such as to engage the student's interest.

(ibid: 107)

However, here too the crucial dimension is the type of activities used:

The activation of these [linguistic] procedures was, I argued, the basic business of methodology, whose central concern was to stimulate problem-solving activities of the kind which were congruent with the students' specialist preoccupations and for which

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the language was needed as a contingency. Thus methodology was placed at the very heart of the operation.

(ibid: 107)

The principal difference between these two sets of quotations is that Jakobovits connects the learning situation to the socio-political influences which affect the student, while Widdowson, placing his discussion in the context of a series of overall plans on the part of both society and the individual, connects the objectives of the course to the wider aims of society at large. If both these connections between the classroom and society are maintained in the overall view, the joint statement looks remarkably solid. And it is reasonable to claim that these three areas still stand as relevant issues today. We will now look at each of them in turn.

1.1.1 Needs and interests

The question of student needs and interests has been a matter of concern to general educationalists for quite some time. Piaget, for instance, reports the importance attributed to pupil interest and involvement in the learning process by nineteenth century educationalists such as Dewey, Montessori or Decroly (Piaget, 1969: 215-6). In the early decades of the twentieth century, others who continued to emphasise the importance of engaging the students' interest by translating the subject matter into terms that he will find relevant to his own reality included Freinet in France, Neill in Britain and Piaget himself. More recently the same emphasis has been adopted by Bruner (eg 1960, 1966), Rogers (1969), Freire (1972), and Ausubel (eg Ausubel, Novak and Hanesian, 1978), who stress the consequences of students' involvement for their ability to comprehend, retain and manipulate new material. This has implications both for the choice of content and the manner of its presentation.

Meanwhile, in a slightly different sense, researchers working in the context of personal construct theory emphasise the implications for learning in general of the learner's view not merely of the content of

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what he is studying but of the whole learning enterprise and of his own commitment to it (eg. Bannister & Fransella, 1980, Salmon, 1980; Kelly, 1955). Specifically in the area of language teaching, Stevick (1976, 1980) has argued along similar lines that language learning may have a significance for the learner which may or may not be compatible with the view that the learner has of himself. This evaluation of the learning enterprise may enhance or hamper the operation of the learner's learning abilities. A similar philosophy has been associated with the 'humanistic' approaches to language learning (discussed in Brumfit, 1984; Stevick, 1976), although the 'needs' that these schools of thought tend to emphasise are less those of the implications of specific language content and more those that emphasise the self-respect and independence of the learner. The problem, viewed in this light, is perhaps less one of selection of the course content and materials, and rather that of establishing congenial human relations and full student initiative throughout the course. This view is neatly summarised by Allwright:

The failure of learners to use outside what they have apparently learned inside the classroom may perhaps be accounted for more appropriately in terms of a failure to develop psychological independence than in terms of a failure to teach to a sufficient degree of 'overlearning'.

(Allwright, 1979: 172)

Alongside and often intertwined with these approaches has been the slightly different line of tackling the nature of student interest analytically by defining it in terms of the learner's need for the language, and thus giving maximum weight to the selection and organisation of course content. Munby's model (1978) is a representative example of this approach. It considers the course entrant not as he is when he enters the course, but in terms of his foreseeable language needs as a future communicator in a particular role. There were various reasons why this approach to course design initially caused widespread interest. For one thing the terms of definition were not only formal: they included, as criteria for language selection, categories of meaning and types of interpersonal interaction,

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as well as skills. This can be seen as consistent with widespread trends in education which attempt to highlight the usefulness of items that are to be taught.

A second reason why needs analysis was of interest to people working on course design and methodology was that it explicitly allowed for ways in which courses could differ: the foreign language ceased to be defined as an indivisible internally structured system of elements, with the result that courses would no longer necessarily include the same linguistic material in all circumstances. The paradigm was changed to allow different types of English language to be developed. So that whereas hitherto professional concern had been directed largely at the twin issues of overall representativity of the linguistic material, and sequencing, Munby's approach now provided an instrument enabling courses to be selective in their aims, not only in terms of lexis, but also in terms of morphology and syntax and their uses, the use of formulaic expressions, types of discourse and varieties of language skills. The emphasis, then, was on the decentralisation of course design. This decentralisation could be effected by selecting course content in the light of the needs of students on a particular course. Its prime justification however could only be that it enhanced the processes of learning by tapping the learners' basic motivations for engaging in those processes.

Criticism of this approach has been largely of three kinds. First it has been attacked on the grounds of its viability. Next it has been criticised for its limited success in motivating learners. And lastly it has been considered irrelevant to the major educational and methodological issues.

With regard to its viability, the problem is twofold. On the one hand the internal organization of Munby's instrument and the terms used are often vague. There is no hierarchy of functions or notions for instance, and there is no clear way of determining which language items to include or exclude. Similarly, although skills are broken down into subskills, in certain cases one skill or subskill implies another, thus

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rendering their itemisation redundant. This, as Brumfit (1981) and Bratt Paulston (1981) point out, is not the case when dealing with inventories of formal characteristics of languages. In addition, the notional/functional categories are impressionistic: some categories are hard to separate from each other; some seem to include others, and in all, there is no way of knowing whether all possible notions and functions have been included, or whether the list could not be further extended, and if so how far.

Apart from these internal limitations on the operability of the model, criticisms have also been voiced with regard to its applicability. Many courses cannot take full account of all the needs of all of its students, since ultimately this would necessitate the teaching of courses for very small groups. In most cases this would be financially prohibitive. But if this is so, and the instrument is intended to be used only for general guidance, then at what level of generality or specificity should the model cease to be applied? This of course is not defined by the instrument, and given the lack of rigour in the definitions, and the multiple layering of the categories, may turn out to be impossible.

It has also been questioned whether the model is of much help to the very many courses which teach languages for general purposes. And indeed, it is doubted (eg. O'Neill, 1977) whether it is in fact possible to predict needs even for a single individual in sufficient detail to justify quite such a minutely organised instrument of analysis.

The model has also been criticised on the grounds that any increase in student motivation is likely at best to be only limited. What may matter most is not where the student is going to end up (although this general aim or objective should be kept in sight), but rather where the student is, or thinks he is, at successive stages of the course. Ladousse (1982) expresses this by establishing a distinction between needs and wants. Whereas 'needs' tend to be institutionally defined, resembling Munby's 'aims' or 'objectives', 'wants' reflect the personal

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identity and motivations of the learner. These can be expected to fluctuate and evolve throughout a course.

This would be a reason for supporting Allwright's (1979) and Brumfit's (1979) insistence on the importance of allowing courses to be defined by, or negotiated with, the students stage by stage, so that the planning of activities is sensitive to the interests and needs of the learners as these are experienced in the course of the learning process. Indeed, Candlin and Breen (1979) and Allwright (1983) place such negotiation between teacher and learner at the centre of the entire learning process. Developments in the area of individualised (or autonomous) learning can be seen as another response to the same concern, in a way which fundamentally threatens the accepted notion of the role of the syllabus (eg. Logan, 1973; Holec, 1980). Similarly, Ristoff (1982) argues that the whole notion of materials development should also be revised, to accommodate a view of materials as highly expendable, short term resources which should be continually updated (he is concerned principally with texts for ESP reading courses). The applicability of such an approach to all aspects of resource planning may be limited. However such a view places materials in a dependent relationship vis-à-vis the teachers and learners on any given course.

Finally, criticism of the Munby model has been voiced on pedagogic grounds. Widdowson (eg. 1983) and Brumfit (1980b, 1984b) have stressed two areas of concern. Firstly, they argue that what really counts in the learning enterprise is the tasks which the learner is expected to engage in. In this sense, a needs analysis is only a very superficial preliminary approach to the problem of what sort of course to set up for a group of learners: a list of content to be taught says nothing about the manner of teaching or learning.

The second area of doubt is that an overly narrow approach to needs analysis in course design will tend to exaggerate the importance of the learning of specific language items or routines, to the detriment of the wider educational goals of developing in the learner the capacity to handle communication problems. This, by definition, is not something

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which can be specified in terms of specific linguistic abilities, but is more likely to be defined by the methodology and intellectual attitudes promoted by the course.

In short, then, although it is necessary to address the problem of student motivation through a consideration of the learner's needs and interests, and although Munby's model of needs analysis undoubtedly plays a part in heightening teacher awareness of the various dimensions of language ability which can be developed through learning, the model can perhaps most usefully be thought of as a point of reference for curriculum development and the study of language learning and course evaluation, rather than the positivistic instrument it was initially thought to be. Interest has to be negotiated rather than planned. And developing a capacity for language learning is perhaps more important than covering appropriate content. One might add that the critical test to which an innovation needs to be submitted is that of attempting to describe the difference it makes. To evaluate the effect on learning of applying a needs analysis would involve the control of such a vast number of variables, that any controlled investigation would be virtually impossible.

1.1.2 Objectives

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that it is often not possible to derive the objectives of a course from a consideration of the needs or interests of the students. While these will have to be taken into account and, more importantly, engaged by the teacher continually throughout a given course, the objectives by implication will have to be derived in terms which will be both specific enough to enable course administrators and learners to be confident that the aims are relevant and have been achieved, and at the same time at a high enough level of generality to allow the participants the necessary freedom to negotiate their mutual involvement in the learning. It is not our present purpose to trace out how this might be done, or how the terms of given objectives can be modified and improved. However, it is relevant to the argument to consider in a simplified manner two of the broad lines

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along which objectives have tended to be formulated. The two approaches to be discussed are firstly centred on input, and secondly on communication skills.

1.1.2.1 Input-focussed objectives

One fundamental approach to the specification of objectives has been (and presumably will continue to be) the itemisation of the language knowledge which learners should aim to learn by the end of the course. And here it might be thought that, in spite of some lexical differences, any course at a given level would tend to be characterised by similar structural knowledge. This may be contrasted with Bruner's well-known remark that:

Any idea or problem or body of knowledge can be presented in a form simple enough so that any particular learner can understand it in a recognisable form.

(Bruner, 1966: 44)

Bruner is suggesting that teachers can choose course content freely, since any potential part of the discipline can be made accessible by selecting appropriate forms as exponents of underlying principles. Applied to language learning, this would mean that no lexical item and no grammatical structure is intrinsically inaccessible to any learner. The school of thought which has stressed the importance of itemising the language input has on the whole tended to work on the assumption that Bruner's statement, at least as far as language courses is concerned, is irrelevant. However, in what follows, we hope to show that this need not be a valid assumption.

The trend in language course development which has focussed on the input to be taught to, and learnt by, the learner principally concerns the question of selection and ordering. An early exponent of this view was West (1926) in his work on vocabulary lists. West proposed to select and order vocabulary items for introduction in language courses on the basis of usefulness as measured by absolute frequency of occurrence. His intention was that students who were not able to

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complete a full academic course would at least have learnt the most frequent lexical items in the language. Howatt explains:

What this meant to West was that each year in school had to be treated as a separate educational experience in its own right, not merely as a preparation for the next year that large numbers of children would never reach. He defined as 'surrender value' 'the proportionate amount of benefit which will be derived by any pupil from an incompleting course of instruction.'

(Howatt, 1984: 245)

This principle, then, was used by teachers and administrators to validate courses against language as it is used. The tradition spread beyond vocabulary counts to include sentence patterns and morphology (eg. George, 1972) and the occurrence of these items in specific types of register (eg. Huddleston et al, 1968).

In register analysis the objective is to produce an account of 'the formal features of the code which are characteristically associated with a given language function' or discourse type, such as narration (White, 1979: 27). That is, the concern is no longer to establish an account of the overall incidence of language features throughout the language, but only for specific sub-types of discourse. In an earlier study, White's concern was to produce 'quantitative data which would be of value to the course planner' (1975: 32). The very notion of register is, after all, highly dependent on the ability to generalize from actual data. On the basis of the analysis of various text types such as 'non-technical instruction, or informal oral narration or technical reportage', White drew the following conclusions:

Firstly it became clear that, except in rare instances [...] it is not possible to take the occurrence of any one specific feature as being criterial of one and only one particular register. Secondly, it was obvious that what made one register distinctive in comparison with another was a unique constellation of features rather than any single characteristic. This suggested the third conclusion, viz. that with sufficient data it would be possible to devise a series of register 'specifications' in which typical constellations of features could be specified for each register. Fourthly, continued analysis of a wide variety of language material emphasised that the crucial

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determinant of language form was not formality (or tenor) or mode (or medium) but purpose (or function).

(White, 1975:34)

White's account represents a sophisticated and methodical approach to the analysis of authentic texts and provides working support for a notion of register derived from a correlation of language forms and type of discourse (cf Longacre, 1983 for a fully elaborated account of the linguistic features of discourse; also Winter, 1983; Halliday, 1985, presents a similar approach to the study of language, in which grammatical features are described as a function of discourse). Taken together with the formal rules of the language, exposure to samples of language could thus be expected to provide a model to the learner of authentic communicative behaviour, in terms of linguistic forms, and their syntagmatic, paradigmatic and situational relations. Encounters with linguistic forms operating within the context of these three dimensions (viz. syntagmatic, paradigmatic and situational) could be thought of as providing the learner with the linguistic knowledge necessary for him to become what Hymes (1972) termed 'communicatively competent'.

It is not necessary to discuss here in detail Hymes' concept of communicative competence. It is worth emphasizing however that his account constitutes an attempt to schematise the sorts of language knowledge that are necessary for native speaker competence. This is made up partly of what is allowed by the conventions of language rules (or, as Hymes puts it, what is 'possible'), partly in terms of what is manageable in terms of linguistic complexity (that is, what is 'feasible'), of what is 'appropriate' in specific types of situations, and finally of what is broadly speaking probable (in terms of the cultural conventions of a particular social group at a specific point in time).

Thus it could be said that Hymes outlines in abstract the dimensions of knowledge needed to plot the production of language so as to simulate the normality of a native speaker. Huddleston et al. (op. cit.) provide

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the statistical accounts of actual samples of discourse (oral or written) which makes it theoretically possible to provide learners with typical model extracts of the language they will need. The principles underlying these studies can be seen as resembling certain recent approaches to language teaching based on naturalistic studies of language acquisition which focus heavily on the role of adult modelling of language for the child. Krashen notably (eg 1982) describes first language acquisition as crucially dependent on the comprehensible input which the child can negotiate from adult care-givers. This preoccupation is reflected in much of the recent literature on the role of interaction in language acquisition (see chapter 2 for discussion of this).

Overall, then, this approach to language learning has tended to see input as essential: it has tended to argue that what comes out must have gone in, and of course the ambition is to make certain that what goes in also comes out. If output does not reflect input exactly, then this is because input has not been optimally sequenced and spaced (George, 1972 is a notable exponent of this argument). Goals, in other words, tend to be defined in terms of necessary input. The course writer and the teacher are a kind of programming team, which with or without the learner's conscious awareness attempts, sometimes quite indirectly, to script the learner's future utterances.

This account is of course a simplification. However although none of the above mentioned writers have stated their positions in quite these terms, such positions could still quite reasonably be provisionally adopted as rough bases for materials development and the assessment of learner behaviour: generalisations are, after all, put forward in order to be refined. However, there is little doubt that the 'input = output' hypothesis has influenced - and continues to reflect - very many approaches to the formulation of materials, the organisation of courses and the teaching of classes. Indeed it could be argued that this stance is closely related to the tendency to define interests as 'needs' and to use a needs analysis as a basis for pre-defining entire courses.

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It should also be stated clearly that, as we will see in more detail in later chapters (notably chapters 6 and 10), formal variations in language can relate to differences in language processing. Thus while we are going to argue that the 'input = output' approach ignores various crucial features of language ability, namely those subsumed under the general label of 'processing skills', nonetheless different varieties of language may need to be examined with a view to considering the varying kinds of processing demands which each type will tend to make on the learner. In other words, it is highly likely that the study of various types of discourse, and its organisation, is going to remain central to course development, and is indeed central to a substantial part of this study. Discourse analysis, and therefore register analysis, will continue to be viewed here as having a central role to play in pedagogical development.

As we have already suggested, however, despite the necessity of viewing goals in terms of 'normal' native language behaviour, this alone is not sufficient for course specification. There are two notable ways in which the information derived from language analysis needs to be qualified. Firstly, an exclusive consideration of native speaker 'norms' tends to encourage an accompanying belief that learning is essentially a process of deliberate item-by-item accumulation of the component linguistic items. The implication of this is that the evaluation of relative success or failure can be carried out with reference to native speaker norms. This may be unreasonable. Furthermore a stronger assumption tends to be that the road towards native speaker competence can be exclusively defined in terms of formal accuracy, where 'accuracy' is intended to subsume Hymes' four dimensions of linguistic competence. That is to say, the learner's task is viewed as consisting of learning to imitate native speaker distributions as exactly as possible. Of course the fallacy of this belief is that no native speaker is himself statistically entirely normal, so that expecting statistical normality from a non-native speaker is in any case absurd.

A second way in which language specification is not alone a sufficient basis for course development is that it fails to consider the dimension

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of language processing skills which we referred to earlier. It discounts the dimension of language use whereby the user, whether neophyte or veteran, has to exploit an arbitrary repertoire of available linguistic signs in order to realise the communication of a pragmatically identifiable meaning within the constraints of real time. In other words, schematic types have to be used to convey (relatively) specific meanings, and this is something that each individual has to learn to do on his own account and efficiently within the reasonable amount of time available to him.

Frank Smith gives a good example of our reliance on this capacity:

Just try to write a description of cats and dogs that would enable a being from outer space - or even a child who has never seen cats and dogs before - to tell the difference. Anything that you might want to say about some dogs - that they have long tails or pointed ears or furry coats - will apply to some cats and not to some other dogs. [...] [H]ow can we teach this difference to children? What we do, of course is point out to children examples of the two kinds of animal. We say 'That is a cat' or 'There goes a dog'. But pointing out examples does not tell children anything, it merely confronts them with the problem. In effect we say 'There is something I call a cat. Now you find out why.' The teacher sets the problem and leaves the child to discover the solution.

(Smith, 1978:88-9)

In other words, the meanings of messages, like the meanings of words, have to be hypothesised, and the selection of tokens to convey meanings is similarly a form of hypothesising. In this sense, language and its use cannot be taught: they can only be learnt.

What we are arguing, then, is that in learning a language for use, the learner not only has to memorize instances of language in use, and build up a series of generalisations about the language including knowledge about word classes, relationships between them, and their typical potential meanings (very much the preoccupation of most teaching methods). Input is not enough: the learner also has to be able to relate typical instances to specific messages through the mediation of his nervous system in real time. The importance of this dimension, which could be identified broadly as the problem of developing fluency,

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has been emphasised by various writers (eg. Brumfit, 1984a, 1984b; Levelt, 1978; Rivers, 1968; Smith 1978; Widdowson, 1983). It is also a problem which is not exclusive to language learners. It might be worth looking more closely at what is at issue, because, clearly, the questions posed by the goals of developing language skills will have a particular importance for the development of exercise types. This is the subject of the next section.

1.1.2.2 Skill-focussed objectives

Brumfit has described the attempt to turn out successful users of a language by close modelling of learner behaviour on appropriate input as analogous to hoping that students will learn to swim 'by learning to lie on the wave analyst's photograph of the sea' (1980: 105). It is instructive to consider the learning of other disciplines or abilities. For instance, it could be said that the Orff or Suzuki methods are intuitively convincing because they lead the learner to interact directly with the instrument, its sounds and its rhythms. This appears more likely to succeed than to proceed synthetically from a discrete analysis of the knowledge needed so as to assemble bit by bit a repertoire of musical combinations which would represent 'musical competence'. Tape recordings are used by learners to model overall effects rather than discrete details of output. Turning to a different area of activity, the use of video recordings for the training of tennis players puts a similar premium on the performer's overall view of his performance, so that any correction is likely to be integrated into the player's overall skill hierarchy: by making a small high level adjustment to his performance, a player may be able to improve his shot, or integrate a new one into his current range. Johnson (ms) similarly describes how, by noting a detail in the positioning of his riding instructor's heels during a demonstration, he was subsequently able to correct his own riding posture.

Of course, seeing language learning as to some extent a matter of learning a skill requires a further grasp of how skills are mastered. In the case of a young child being taught to swim, the use of

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techniques leading him from the ability to float, to be submerged, or to move forward, towards a gradual increase in the mastery of finer and finer improvements in performance (until the learner is able not only to move forwards through the water, but is also led to discover how to do so with economy, elegance and speed) is a clear case of starting from global broadly efficient but unrefined gestures and developing towards more highly differentiated behaviour. Once again teaching techniques of a mimetic nature (such as the teacher floating, swimming and ducking with the child, or exploiting the use of video film) seem to be consonant with a view of learning articulated by cognitive psychologists. Bybee and Sund, for instance, describe the behaviour of the child

as global at first in the sense that, when the infant responds, she may be using several reflexes rather than just isolated ones. These reflex actions are the basis of what will later be intelligent action.

(Bybee & Sund, 1982: 45)

The parallel with language learning has been noted by Wilkins, and more recently by writers such as Pawley & Syder (1983) and Peters (1983). Wong Fillmore makes an observation which supports this view:

In the development of productive structure, the children all seemed to be following the strategy of working the major constituents first and dealing with the grammatical details later.

(Wong Fillmore, 1976: 656, quoted in Krashen, 1981: 94)

In other words, initially the children identified major linguistic 'gestures', so to speak, and from there gradually proceeded to refine their mastery of the system. It is conceivable that, in line with Kahnemann (1973) and Levelt (1978), the gradual differentiation of the system into more sophisticated sub-structures corresponds not only to a desire to make one's performance more similar to the target social group; nor merely to the desire to express finer distinctions of meaning; but also to the gradual increase in spare processing capacity which results from the fact that, with more experience and greater

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automation the learner has more time to pay attention to the finer details of the code which might be implied by his message.

This view can be seen as consistent with Ausubel's (eg. Ausubel, Novak & Hanesian, 1978) insistence on the importance of advance organisers which facilitate learning by providing a grosser, more general and familiar schema of knowledge, into which new more detailed information can be integrated or embedded. This might lead to the suggestion that the assimilation, retention and developing exploitation of both 'declarative' and 'procedural' knowledge (J.R. Anderson, 1985) (or knowledge and skill), may follow very similar lines.

The argument, then, is that the learner comprehends something by using it, and that this comprehension and mastery becomes more refined as he uses it more and in more demanding situations. Sentences, in Bruner's happy expression, need to make contact with the learner's muscles (1966: 10).

In a sense it has taken a long time for this message to be seriously heeded by theorists and practitioners of language teaching (witness the continuing attempts to 'model' second language proficiency and communicative competence). After all, Bruner's comment that 'a schoolboy learning physics is a physicist' is a similar claim, and one on a par with Freinet's practice in French primary schools in the 1920's of sending his pupils out into the village or onto their farms to learn about measurements by calculating the distances along local roads, or the areas of their parents' fields (Freinet, 1977). More recently but in similar vein is Paulo Freire's insistence (eg. 1972) on the importance of providing learners on adult literacy courses with texts of relevance to them, so that the material makes contact with the learners' emotional and practical values. In other words, the acquisition of knowledge should be linked to the acquisition of the ability to use it, and this requires the involvement of the learner as an active participant. Unless the learner develops the skill to use it, the knowledge will not be integrated into his skill to use it in real life tasks.

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This point has been well made by Barnes (1976). Barnes distinguishes between 'school knowledge' and 'action knowledge'. Whereas the former kind of knowledge can only be used in the classroom, the latter kind comes into existence when the learner begins 'to incorporate the information into the inner map of reality on which his actions are based' (1976:80). Clearly, then, using the knowledge not only ensures what we have called 'integration' of the knowledge into a skill hierarchy: it also has an effect on the learner's perception of it.

In addition, by using the knowledge, the learner also develops a 'capacity' (Levelt, 1978; Widdowson, 1983) for handling it. This is more than integration or improved perception of the knowledge. An essential part of learning is the fact that knowledge always has to be organised according to the needs of the individual. Where it is not so organised, the individual is not able to use it efficiently. Barnes reports Schutz's account of the difficulties faced by someone visiting another country. The problem is that certain things, which the visitor assumes to be normal on the basis of his own L1 cultural experience, can no longer be taken for granted. The foreign culture is based on implicit knowledge which is different from his own:

Thus Schütz sees our knowledge to be arranged in what he calls 'contour lines of relevance'. At the centre is the highly reflexive knowledge, which we are aware of because we have to sustain and use it in a world of people with conflicting views. Further out, the contour lines mark areas of knowledge and belief which are less and less open to introspection, until at the periphery lie those areas of assumption about reality - such as the belief in the permanence of objects - which we act on every day, but hardly ever bring to mind.[...] 'The stranger' may have to bring parts of this tacit knowledge into focus if he is to become an active participant in the country he has visited.

(Barnes, 1976:103)

This indeed may be the fundamental educational challenge of learning a foreign language, and one which may be familiar to anyone who has travelled abroad, or even to another area of his native country. And the view that learning the history of one's country is similar to learning to understand a foreign country is surely a related observation.

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It could be argued, then, that a considerable part of language learning involves the adjustment whereby foreign language forms which appear to relate to highly charged 'reflexive' knowledge become realigned at a more implicit level of organisation of the consciousness. At the same time the learner also has to relearn the ability of coping with a large proportion of unknown elements (and meanings) in the language - something which he was perfectly capable of doing for much of his childhood and adolescence, but which he has since put behind him. The learner, therefore, has to act on, as well as through, his knowledge of the language.

The argument, then, is that one of the language learner's goals is to establish a relationship with the object of his learning, and that this is only possible through activities which involve his fluent, and unscripted, use of the language. This view represents perhaps the major methodological shift that has taken place over the last twenty years. In Piagetian terms, the focus has moved from learning through assimilation (the 'input' based approach) to an increased emphasis on active accommodation on the part of the learner. Of course such shifts may be more illusory than real. All that might have happened is that what had always been an implicit part of language teaching methodology has simply been made explicit. The cynic might remark that the frequent talk of the pendulum of pedagogical fashion is unconnected with what goes on in the classroom: teachers teach perfectly well in spite of whatever is being published. Indeed, proponents of 'communicative methods' themselves frequently deny that in broad terms they are being original. However, although there must be some substance in such a view, it is unlikely to be the whole truth.

Prior to 1970, the teaching of fluency was generally not explicitly mentioned as a particular problem. Of course, in the ESL tradition, fluency could be taken to be an implicit part of the curriculum which language specialists did not need to worry about. Perhaps this explains why there is little explicit discussion of fluency activities in publications such as Billows (1961) or Bright & McGregor (1970). They assumed that the language would be used communicatively in other parts

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of the curriculum. So that, apart from coverage under chapters on literature or drama teaching, fluency activities were not a concern. In foreign language teaching, on the other hand, where fluency was discussed, it was seen largely in terms of the problem of automation (eg Rivers, 1964; Mackey, 1965). To take a suitably representative example, in Mackey's compendious inventory of methods and techniques, the author acknowledges the need for fluency in these terms:

The ultimate aim of a language-teaching course is to teach the learner to use the language accurately, fluently and independently. To achieve accuracy, errors and their repetition must be avoided; to achieve fluency a great amount of practice is needed. Between controlled accuracy and fluency and the independent use of the language lie many types of repetition.

(Mackey, 1965: 257)

It is interesting to note that in this scheme of things, 'controlled accuracy and fluency' are at one end of a cline, the other pole being represented by 'the independent use of the language': fluency and accuracy are decontextualised motor skills. This contrasts strikingly with Brumfit's (1984) polarity of accuracy and fluency, and is a clue to Mackey's view of what kinds of exercise might promote fluency. The only type he in fact suggests is oral composition, and only one out of three variants of this type of exercise is truly 'unscripted':

Free Composition

At a certain level, the course may supply outlines of topics on which the learner is asked to talk freely. Some conversation courses contain an entire volume of such outlines.

(Mackey, 1965:278)

We will see in due course that practice of this kind could be considered to provide quite atypical instances of fluent language behaviour for the majority of learners, although this is not to say that it would be quite without value in certain courses. It is true that Mackey's concerns reflect those of the postwar period. They clearly show, however, that fluency as interpreted by Brumfit (that is, fluent contextualised and unscripted language use) was generally assumed to occur as an endpoint, as a result of a process of accretion of input

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items. In this view, fluency can in effect only be practised at advanced levels. As we have already seen, however, more recent developments have brought fluency into the position of not only being a goal that needs specific kinds of practice at various levels of proficiency, but also of being a major means of promoting genuine learning.

Broadly speaking then, fluency activities are seen as contributing to the educational goal firstly because new knowledge can thus be assimilated into the skill hierarchy of language use (cf Levelt, 1978); and secondly because the use of the language is what enables the learner to accommodate to the foreign language system, to negotiate both his and other people's meanings through experiencing instances of use of the foreign code. (It will be noted that this account is quite distinct from the Krashenesque argument to the effect that interaction is important because it promotes negotiated comprehensible input.) On the one hand, what the learner knows has got to be made - and maintained - fluent and accessible; on the other, he has to be able to make do with what he knows. In this, attention to accuracy, in excessive amounts or at the wrong times, can hinder these two operations. This view is not new, and does not apply only to speech.

Smith (1978), for instance, stresses that in reading, predicting and meaningful exploration go hand in hand, and can both be stifled by excessive attention to detail. Just as in any other form of perception (see for example Weisser, 1976, on the perceptual cycle), the child learning to read must be thinking ahead, since in making sense of what he has just read he has to anticipate what comes next. This may help to explain the effect the teacher can have when he corrects the child:

A certain way to make children anxious, hesitant, and otherwise inefficient readers is to jump on errors the moment they occur. This discouraging habit is sometimes justified as 'providing immediate feedback', but in fact it may be feedback which is not relevant to what the child is trying to do, and it may in the long run discourage children from relying on their own judgement for self-correction when they have made a mistake.

(Smith, 1978:141)

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The point is that undue attention to details of form when the child's processing capacity is already overloaded may have the effect of increasing the overload, so that he ceases to look ahead and predict, and instead reads word for word. Thus, rather than looking forwards for the meaning, and checking his interpretation of incoming items against what has already been read and against what is coming up, he forgets about the overall meaning of the text, focusses on the problem of deciphering individual words, and relies on the teacher's approval instead of self-evaluation. This then becomes a vicious circle: reading word for word will only make his task harder, since the overall sense of what he is reading in turn is likely to become harder to grasp. What is desirable, then, is not to avoid teaching the meaningful knowledge of discrete items, but rather to avoid letting such teaching impede the development of fluency.

If fluency is an essential ingredient in the development of reading, a similar preoccupation can be detected in the classic freshman writing course of Brooks & Warren (1961). At first sight it might appear that a productive skill such as writing is most likely to involve a piecemeal linear assembling of ideas. The authors suggest however that this is not necessarily the case. Concentrating at too low a level of detail can make it very difficult to write anything extended, because although details are important, there has to be an overall sense of direction to the writing:

We don't, generally, have an idea or a body of information, all clear in our heads, thoroughly worked out and organized, and then set about reporting it in words. No, more usually, in order to get the idea clear or the body of information logically organized, we have to try to put it into words. When we try to frame even the simplest sentence, we are forced to establish a set of meaningful relations; that is, we are forced to think more clearly. We instinctively know this, and imply as much when we say, 'I must talk this out!'

(Brooks & Warren, 1961:3)

Planning writing, like planning speech (cf Barnes, 1976) is an exploratory, risk-taking enterprise. It needs to be carried out with due attention to the overall message, and not merely focussing on the low

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level skills of deciphering or encoding. Unless the learner can be protected from some of the risks of confusion, misunderstanding and error, through the deliberate inclusion of fluency-oriented activities, learning for him will remain a discouraging enterprise, characterised by a high rate of failure.

In this section, then, we have been concerned with discussion of pedagogical goals, notably the two goals of accuracy and fluency, and we have examined the way in which the definition of teaching goals has been evolving. Arising out of these developments, changes, not surprisingly, have occurred in the third area of professional concern, namely in the 'learning opportunities' which Jakobovits identified as important in developing language teaching methodology. This is the topic of the next section.

1.1.3 Learning Activities

Various writers have increasingly insisted on the importance for learning of tasks involving normal language processing, in contrast to those which emphasise accuracy. The way in which they refer to these varieties of tasks however can vary. Abbott (1981) uses the terms 'controlled' and 'relaxed'. O'Neill (1973, 1975) refers to 'guided' and 'free' activities. Maley (1978:6) speaks of 'holistic' and 'atomistic' tasks; Littlewood prefers the terms 'part skills' and 'whole' or 'total skills' (1981: 17); Rivers & Temperley (1978) use the terms 'skill-getting' and 'skill-using' exercises; Carrell (1983) refers to 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' processing. Finally, Brumfit (1984a) uses the terms 'fluency' and 'accuracy'.

Of these, the first two pairs of terms seem to stress the relationship between teacher and learner; the next two pairs imply a view of the object of learning; the terms 'skill-using' and 'skill-getting' seem to imply that one set of activities does not in fact involve using the skill being acquired (ostensibly a contradiction); while the last two pairs emphasise rather the learner's own view of what he is actually doing. Since we are interested in stressing the skill in the activity,

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we would prefer the last two pairs; and of these, 'fluency' and 'accuracy' seems marginally preferable since it can be applied a little more easily to all of the four language skills.

It is worth noting, however, that all of the sets of labels say something about what is meant by 'fluency', and thus about what might be expected of fluency activities. These include: concentration on the message; use of both meaning and form, and not just of form; working with extended chunks of language; freedom of control from the teacher; and communication effected in a relaxed, unself-conscious frame of mind. This is very similar to Brumfit's five qualities of fluency-oriented activities. Slightly paraphrased, these are as follows:

1. Language produced should not be scripted.
2. The content should be determined by the speaker or the writer in relation to the task.
3. Normal processes of improvising, paraphrasing, repair and reorganisation should occur.
4. The objective of the activity should be message-oriented.
5. The teacher's role should be that of a communicator rather than an authority.

(after, Brumfit, 1984a:56)

Taken together, these criteria will provide a satisfactory working definition of fluency activities for our purposes.

In response to the redefinition of the foreign language curriculum to include fluency activities corresponding to these criteria, new materials have been produced in considerable quantities over recent years. However, where integrated course books are concerned, the tendency has remained that of viewing exercises as a means to internalising linguistic form rather than to developing communicative skill. Examples include Abbs and Freebairn (1977-80), O'Neill (1974), Garton-Sprenger et al (1979). Most of these and similar courses have tended to be innovative more in the types of language input selected than in the types of exercises. Even materials which might have been expected to concentrate on the development of processing skills still tend to emphasise language items, albeit as discourse markers (eg.

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Moore (1978-9), Morrow (1980), and Nelson (publishers) (1980)). This is not to suggest that such materials do not have a useful role to play in foreign language learning, but merely that the exercises do not operate principally in terms of language processing skills, but rather in order to exploit specific linguistic features of the texts.

On the other hand, reading courses have started to appear which devote time to developing appropriate strategies which can help the student to read at maximum efficiency for his level of language proficiency (eg Scott, 1981). By developing strategies for extracting meaning, a course is likely to enable a learner to encounter more language with a higher level of satisfaction than if he is led only to concentrate on language items.

Listening materials (eg. Blundell & Stokes, 1981; Maley & Moulding, 1981) have also begun to appear, while various books concentrating on oral fluency activities have also been published (eg Rixon & Byrne, 1979; Herbert & Sturtridge, 1979; Jones, 1982; Littlewood, 1981; Matthews & Read, 1981; Ur, 1981). The point, then, is that there has been a development in the types of activities that have entered language teaching methodology.

Widdowson has argued that, in any attempt to develop language teaching in an effective way, 'methodology [must be] placed at the very heart of the operation' (1983:107). Over the past 100 years, pedagogical theory has moved steadily in the direction of viewing successful education as related to the degree with which teaching procedures can involve the learner in rehearsing the decisions he will have to make to solve problems or carry out tasks in life outside the classroom. It is not surprising therefore if methodology now aims to include genuine communicative activity amongst its primary responsibilities. The practical implications of such a development are likely to be profound and stimulating. It is in response to what amounts to a systematic change in methodology that this present project is justified.

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We said at the beginning of this chapter that development in methodology arises out of a comparison between means and objectives on the one hand, and results on the other. The kind of change in the scope of methodology described in this chapter therefore entails a comparable change in the scope of possible research: the nature of new activities cannot be fully understood by teachers or methodologists unless some attempt is made to explore the behaviour of learners engaged on some sample exercises. This is the purpose of the present study. It attempts to approach a variety of general questions such as, what is the effect of the use of fluency activities? What do learner do when engaged in these tasks? If we study the application of these tasks, can we discover any hidden differences between them? Rather than attempt to evaluate fluency tasks in simple terms of positive or negative scores, does it make any sense to suggest that the use of a range of activities increases the kinds of learning which the teacher can stimulate in his students? Can the teacher, by studying the language of learners working on fluency tasks, obtain a more discriminating grasp of the range of tasks that he has at his disposal, and thus possibly discover further ways of exploiting or developing this range? Could teachers obtain a clearer idea of the effects of such exercises on learning?

In the next chapter we discuss previous research into oral language methodology. In the next two chapters then we outline a view of oral language skill. First, in chapter 3 we formulate an account of the nature of oral language skills. In chapter 4 we then examine recent studies of oral communication strategies. Chapter 5 then introduces the source of the data and the ways in which it will be analysed. Chapters 6-10 present a detailed analysis of the recordings, involving both statistical and descriptive approaches. Chapter 11 presents an extended discussion of the results of the study. Chapter 12 offers a summary, indicates some directions for further research, and reviews the place of such research in the development of foreign language methodology.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH IN METHODOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

It is probably uncontroversial to state that research in education is intended to contribute to 'progress'. What that progress might be, and whether it actually takes place, is however a rather more contentious issue. Discussion is inevitably often coloured by pre-theoretical views. Part of the trouble stems from the fact that debaters frequently fail to agree on the legitimate aims of instruction. After all, how can an aspect of a course be wrong or inadequate if the implied objective is not central to, or is even beyond, the scope of the teaching enterprise? A further problem arises from the difficulty in agreeing on the effects of an approach to education, and in establishing a cause-effect relationship. These problems are particularly evident in discussion of the role of fluency teaching.

It might be advisable, therefore, to abandon, temporarily at least, the term 'progress' and replace it with the word 'understanding', if by understanding we mean the gathering of information in order to be able to solve some problem.

The problem posed by language teaching methodology is how best to promote language learning through the resources available - or potentially available - to teachers in classrooms. There are basically five components to this problem. These are:

1. The nature of language proficiency
2. The nature of language learning
3. Methodological practice
4. The learner
5. The classroom (or more broadly the educational environment)

An understanding of the nature of language proficiency is essential to enable the results of a course of learning to be accurately evaluated. An understanding of language learning helps the teacher and learner to

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select appropriate methodology and to have realistic expectations of a given learning experience. Methodological practice provides a range of means which the teacher and learner can select from and adapt to attain certain kinds of ends. Methodological practice includes not just materials, but also the teaching techniques used by a given teacher. The learner's various attitudes, habits, skills and kinds of background knowledge will affect the ways in which learning takes place. And finally, the educational environment, both human and physical, will affect the value and feasibility of the learning enterprise.

Research may be devoted to improving understanding of any of these variables. The crucial question in each case, however, is how far the study allows extrapolation to, or exploitation in, the foreign language classroom.

Each of these areas of interest has stimulated a considerable amount of research over many decades, and it would be impossible to give a comprehensive survey here, and indeed redundant since excellent reviews and histories have been written on precisely this theme (eg. Brown, 1981; Howatt, 1984; Mackey, 1964; Stern, 1983). However in order to situate this study, it might be useful to attempt a broad categorisation of major lines of research, and to report the principal studies that have been undertaken into the language of learners in group activities.

2.1 Language Proficiency

Research into the nature of language proficiency is in many respects a descriptive task. It involves an enumeration of what it means to be linguistically proficient. This can be described as an abstract decontextualised concept, something attempted by pure linguistic theory. Linguists such as Bloomfield, Harris, and Chomsky have tended to approach language proficiency in terms of the linguistic knowledge which is implied by the competence of an ideal speaker-hearer.

A strand of linguistic theory has however consistently attempted to situate linguistic performance in its socio-cultural and cognitive

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context. Thus Firth, Halliday, Hymes, Widdowson, and Canale and Swain among others have attempted to develop descriptive accounts of the kinds of formal, pragmatic, interpersonal and cognitive knowledge, and the accompanying processing skills, which together make up what has been called 'communicative competence'. These studies have already been referred to in an earlier section, and similar concerns will be the object of closer scrutiny in connection with oral skills, in later chapters (chapters 3 and 4). It is worth pointing out however that accounts of the way language is used in discourse (eg Brown & Yule, 1983a; Coulthard, 1977; Crombie, 1985; Halliday, 1985; Hoey, 1983; Hymes, 1970; Leech, 1983; Longacre, 1983; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Stubbs, 1983; Widdowson, 1978, 1984), of the knowledge that this presupposes (eg. Canale, 1983; Canale & Swain, 1980; Richards & Schmidt, 1983b; Widdowson, 1979, 1984) and the ways in which it is processed (eg Anderson, 1983; Bock, 1987; Butterworth, 1980; Chafe, 1979, 1980; Clark & Clark, 1977; van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983; Fillmore, 1979; Levelt, 1978; Meyer, 1975; Norman, 1976) tend on the whole to provide tools and units of analysis for further discussion and exploration, and an approximate target for methodologies to aim for, rather than a definitive account against which the proficiency of foreign language learners can be neatly measured. On the other hand, our ability to describe what is meant by language proficiency has undoubtedly become more sophisticated in recent years, so that it is becoming increasingly possible to model the processes of language use in a variety of contexts so as to account for varieties of discourse.

Nonetheless, it is one thing to map out the range of motor-perceptual, linguistic, cognitive and interpersonal processing skills which a competent speaker can be expected to have mastered (cf. van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983 for a stimulating discussion) and another to understand how these skills are acquired, or how their acquisition can be fostered in the classroom. These topics have been the subject of discussion and research, often strongly influenced by the studies mentioned in the previous paragraph, and to these we now turn.

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2.2 Language Learning

Research into language learning is usually conducted with a view to understanding how learners progress, and what kinds of language they characteristically produce during their development. The data upon which these studies are based are recordings (at least since the advent of the taperecorder), and in studies of foreign language methodology both L1 and L2 data have been considered relevant (eg Brumfit, 1984a; Ellis, 1985; Hatch, 1983; Krashen, 1982). References are frequently made to first language acquisition research in order to justify approaches to foreign language pedagogy (such as the work of Berko, 1958; Klima & Bellugi, 1966; Brown, 1973; Bruner, 1983; Halliday, 1975; Peters, 1983; Snow, 1985; Snow & Goldfield, 1982; Wells, 1981, 1985). Although such work often provides revealing insights into the way in which language is learnt by children in natural conditions of acquisition, it is not of itself automatically applicable to classroom foreign language learning. Thus recently more attention has been paid to research into the way learners develop proficiency in a second language.

Second language data has tended to be of two kinds: morpheme studies, and contextual studies. Morpheme studies have collected quantities of data in order to attempt to compute the order with which elements of the foreign language system are acquired, or in which errors occur. Studies of this kind include error analysis (eg George, 1972; Richards (ed), 1974; Corder, 1981) and contrastive analysis (eg. Fisiak (ed), 1981). They also include many studies which focus on the order of acquisition of specific morphemes, such as those reported for instance by Dulay, Burt & Krashen (1982), Ellis (1985), Hatch (1983) and Krashen, (1981, 1982).

Much of this research, although it tends to converge on certain common tendencies of language development both across time and learner background, often has serious flaws. In particular much of the work can be questioned on grounds of the validity of the statistical procedures used in calculating average sequences of acquisition from series of different individual scores. Equally dubious are the criteria used to

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decide the moment of acquisition, as well the relatively small number of linguistic items which have been studied (cf Hatch, 1983 and Rosansky, 1976 for fuller accounts of these weaknesses). Also, it is a limitation, which more recent studies have attempted to overcome (eg Long, 1981), that the morpheme acquisition research concentrated on morphemes to the exclusion of longer sequences of discourse. We will return to this consideration shortly.

In addition to the above weaknesses, such studies suffer from two further serious drawbacks. They firstly concentrate far more attention on what learners find difficult than on what they succeed in doing, thus leaving unresolved the question of what the teacher can best do to engage the learning process. And a second and related problem is that the research provides no systematic way to relate the results to teaching practice. This is due to the problem commented on in depth by Brumfit (1984a) of the difficulties of extrapolation from experimental results to the classroom. Where results are obtained from naturalistic data (eg Krashen's subject P (1982)) there is no necessary or explicit relation between such results and a given teaching approach or technique. Where, on the other hand, results are based on data which has been collected in test situations, once again the question arises of how to relate them to classroom practice. This is particularly important in the case of those programmes of research which explicitly aim to reveal information which will guide course designers in selecting and organising course input (eg. George, 1972), but it is also a drawback to researchers wishing to promote a specific pedagogical approach (eg Krashen, 1982). That is to say, the observation of a silent period in naturalistic first or second language acquisition (in fact by no means typical of all learners) is quite insufficient to suggest that forcing adult second language learners to be silent will necessarily have the same results. (A similar argument can be sustained on the question of morpheme acquisition orders.)

A second type of SLA data has been used for the study of second language development, and this can be typified by the work of Wong Fillmore (1976). This consists essentially of a longitudinal study of

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certain aspects of the language in context of a group of second language learners with a view to uncovering patterns of development. This leads to the postulating of certain social interaction strategies associated with the progress of the more successful subjects, and which might explain their development. The data in Wong Fillmore's study was gathered through field work. Oral data has also been gathered through tests (eg Bialystok, 1983; Dechert, 1983; Haastrup & Phillipson, 1983; Long, 1981; Wagner, 1983). Of these various studies, only that by Wagner can claim to have been made in conditions resembling a learning situation, and even here one of the subjects was first instructed in the task by an 'experimenter' (1983:161). Once again the problem of extrapolation arises: in the naturalistic study, the behaviour of the learners is not intended to be related to a particular form of teacher intervention; in the test situations on the other hand, the task-based elicitation techniques can too easily be seen as affected by the unequal status of the students vis-à-vis the testers. In any case, the point of all these studies was not to examine the effects of a particular methodology, nor even to suggest a pedagogic approach, but rather to assess the way people learn and use language without any of the factors typical of an educational environment, such as those mentioned for instance by Brumfit (1984a:17-18).

More recently, a number of studies have appeared which focus on the effects of language exercises, and these will be discussed in the next section. For now it is important to stress that although it is of significance to teachers to understand how learning takes place, and what target proficiency should be like, it is at least unproven that it is sufficient merely to assume that reproducing conditions of the outside world in the classroom will of itself guarantee a similar quality of language development.

2.3 Methodology research

Three main kinds of research have in recent years focussed on the efficacy of methodological approaches. The first has been directed

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towards an evaluation of the selection and organisation of the input of courses; the second has been oriented towards an assessment of the efficacy of different exercise types and practice procedures; the third has more generally attempted to assess whether instruction makes a difference to learning.

A multitude of studies, of varying notoriety or celebrity, have attempted to examine the relative benefits of the use of different teaching strategies: the effect of deductive, inductive, or contextualised presentations (eg. Freedman, 1982; Pickering, 1982; cf also Oller, 1979); the advantages and disadvantages of structuralist approaches (eg. Oller, 1979; the Pennsylvania Project (Smith, 1970); problems in the processing of certain text types (Carrell, 1984a; 1984b); the effects of delaying early productive practice in language courses with correspondingly heavier early emphasis on receptive activities (eg. Davies, 1980; Nord, 1980; Postovsky, 1974); and the advantages of delaying the start of foreign language learning, or of teaching successively different foreign languages for short periods to modest levels of attainment, rather than a single foreign language for many years (eg Cross, 1977). Parkinson, Mitchell & Johnstone (1981) similarly conducted research into the effects of a mastery learning approach, and report claims of various research projects for the efficacy of mastery teaching.

The main purpose of most of these studies has been to suggest that a given way of organising an entire course or methodology has, overall, superior results to another. The problems of research of this type have been discussed by Freedman (1982) and Brumfit (1977) and are too extensive to be discussed in detail here. However, in broad terms, we will follow Brumfit in arguing that the more comprehensive the claims, and the more limited the numbers of subjects studied, the less reliable and the less valid the results will tend to be. Thus where the claims concern major methodological issues for all - or the majority of - learners, a very large number of variables are likely to intervene in any study, and are consequently likely to be difficult to control for in any attempted replication. So for instance, a project aimed at

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demonstrating the superiority of say a structural approach over other teaching methods (as in the case of the celebrated Pennsylvania Project in the late sixties) aims at showing a superiority for both short and long term learning of a specific teaching pattern for all learners (not just those in Pennsylvania, or indeed in the Western world). Hence the difficulties in finding similar and large enough groups of subjects, and in using the same methods in all projects. Indeed the comprehensive scope of the methodologies being applied in such studies also made it difficult even to be sure that the innovative methodology was in fact being truly used.

Brumfit's solution to this problem is radically to limit the scope of such research studies in terms of the aspects of methodology which they focus on (say by trying out a small change in method, such as that implied by the introduction of a new exercise type) but to apply it over a wide population. Thus the number of internal variables is reduced so that if a finding of any significance arises, it can be attributed with reasonable certainty to the use of the particular technique in question. Applying it over a wide population becomes at the same time far more feasible, with a concomitant increase in the reliability of the findings. And indeed recent studies have tended to confine themselves to studying the effects either of highly specific variables such as particular exercises (eg Carrell, 1983, on the effects of different kinds of text presentation; Pickering, 1982, on the effects of contextual information for vocabulary learning) or to global undifferentiated effects (eg. Lightbown, 1983, 1985; Long, 1983, 1985b; on whether instruction - of whatever kind - makes a difference to learning; note however Pica's 1985 study which does detect differences in learning on different language features. Even here, however, these effects are not related to any particular learning activities).

Some studies of the language produced by learners working on group interaction tasks have also been undertaken, which are relevant to the present project. They will be discussed below (see section 2.6). In general, then, the lessons to be learnt from research into methodology would appear to suggest that a fruitful line of enquiry would be to

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seek to understand the language processing and language learning involved in handling particular pedagogical exercises. Certainly viewed in this light, the research project into the procedural approach (reported by Johnson, 1982, and Brumfit, 1984c) is clearly far too limited to permit more than the setting up of parameters of learner behaviour which could be tested more fully and more widely in due course.

It is especially significant that of all the handbooks available for practising teachers, teacher trainers or initial trainees, very few provide any data, statistical or linguistic, which might provide teachers, or indeed learners, with an overview of the types of language performance or development that can be expected from the use of a given kind of exercise. So for instance, Rivers & Temperley (1978), Littlewood (1981) and Harmer (1983) while providing important contributions to teacher information, lack any substantial account of learner response to materials. Brumfit & Johnson (1979) and Johnson & Morrow (1981) provide samples of materials, but not of learner language. Only Faerch, Haastrup & Phillipson (1984) of recent publications for teachers provide any significant accounts of the language of learners, and even there, data is not specifically linked to any pedagogical activity. It is however a promising sign that reports based on some sort of learner data are becoming more common (eg. A.Anderson, 1985; Dechert, 1983; Haastrup & Phillipson, 1983; Wagner, 1983. It is also worth noting that learner data is discussed in areas outside ELT, as for instance in Barnes, 1976 and Harri-Augstein et al. 1982). It is in this direction that research might be expected to encourage progress in language pedagogy by promoting increased understanding of processes and outcomes, rather than by attempting to prove or disprove the relative efficacy of one approach or technique over another.

2.4 The Learner

Under this section we will briefly summarise the final type of research that is used in order to inform pedagogical development, including

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reference both to characteristics of the learner, and to extrinsic influences on the learner. Learner characteristics include motivation, aptitude and affective factors. Following Brumfit (1980:137) we will assume that intelligence is either subsumed under aptitude or else is irrelevant to language acquisition. Extrinsic influences on the other hand are made up of social and institutional pressures on the learner.

Research relating to learner characteristics includes such diverse work as that by Bruner, Goodnow & Austin (1956), Burstall (1975), Entwistle (1983), Gardner & Lambert (1972), Maslow (1970), Naiman, Fröhlich, Stern & Todesco (1978), Peters (1983), Pickett (1978), Rubin (1981), and Stevick (1976). These various developments into the psychology of the learner are important precisely because the very diversity of the studies and the evidence they show of differences among and between learners should caution against any simplistic approach towards the methodology of classroom interaction. As Ladousse (1982) points out, however, in her discussion of Gardner & Lambert's postulate of the two kinds of motivation, 'integrative' and 'instrumental', many of the classifications of learners into types fail to suggest what can be done for learners who are, so to speak, of the wrong type; in addition they fail to account for the very many learners of both the right and wrong types who disconfirm the research findings. While not providing particular methodological insights, such research should perhaps serve as a warning that many different learning styles may be effective; that they may be preferred by any given individual learner; and that the most desirable teaching strategy might therefore be to encourage a variety of styles through the various direct and indirect means that teachers can employ.

The conclusion to be drawn, then, from the variety of research which shows potentially significant affective and cognitive differences between learners is that it is of central importance for the teacher and course administrators to place themselves in a position from which they can negotiate the learning procedures which will be most effective for the individual learners concerned. Ladousse herself concludes that 'the [learning] process itself [...] looms large as a fundamental basis

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for motivation'. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the research into learner strategies of, for example, Hosenfeld (1976) and Rubin (1981), namely that packaged solutions are most unlikely to be found prior to a learner's entry to a course: any effective solutions will have to be negotiated by learner and teacher where possible during the learning process.

2.5 Types of data collection

At the risk of gross oversimplification, research possibilities for altering teaching/learning procedures could be represented by the diagram in Figure 1.

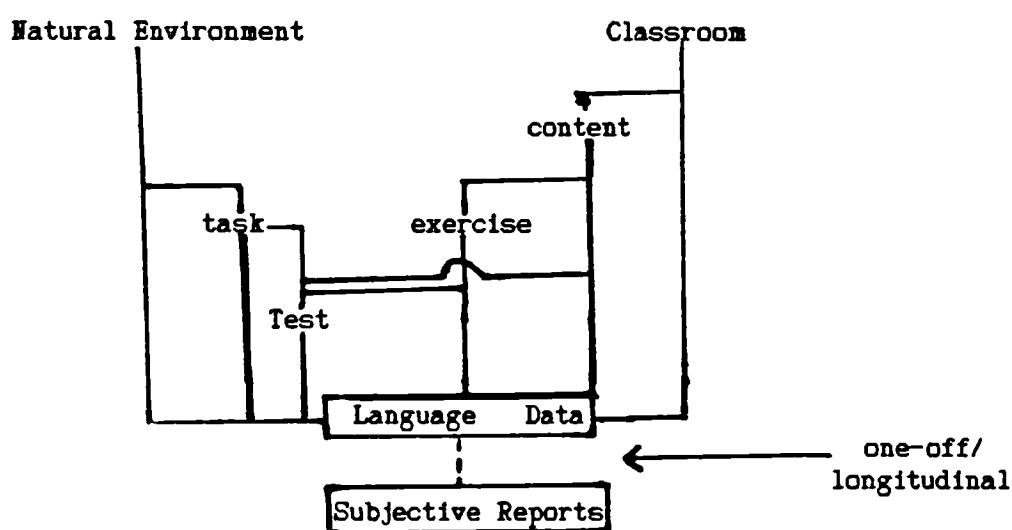


Figure 1: Varieties of sources for SLA data

'Natural environment' and 'classroom' refer to the context of language acquisition. 'Task', 'exercise' and 'content' refer to the variable being studied. Where no test instrument is used, the data is produced in the context of study (ie either classroom, random situations of the natural environment, controlled tasks, or exercises). Finally, tests may be replaced or supplemented by various instruments for obtaining subjective information from the learners, about his procedures either for learning the language or for doing given tasks. Collection of data may be one-off or longitudinal, depending on whether the focus is on

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the direct responses by learners to a particular task, or whether it is intended to reflect development through repeated encounters over time.

These factors would allow the following combinations of source of learning and mode of data collection.

1. Natural environment data (Eg. Wells, 1985; LW Fillmore, 1979;
2. Natural environment task data (Eg. Long, 1981)
3. Natural environment test data (Eg. Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1979; Long, 1985a; Pica, 1983)
4. Classroom data (eg. Allwright, 1980; Chaudron, 1983; Gaies, 1983; Long, 1983b)
5. Classroom test data (eg. Parkinson, Mitchell & Johnstone, 1981; Bialystok, 1983; Fathman, 1976; Long, 1983, 1985a, 1985b; Lightbown, 1983; Pica, 1983)
6. Classroom content data (any study attempting to analyse the effect on language processing of choice of topic)
7. Classroom content test data (eg. Carrell, 1983; Gary & Gary, 1982; any study attempting to discover the effect of topic or theme on learning, cf Stevick, 1976)
8. Classroom exercise data (eg. Aston, 1986; Carrell, 1983; Dechert, 1983; Doughty & Pica, 1986; Wagner, 1983)
9. Classroom exercise test data (eg. Oller, 1979; Pickering, 1982)
10. Classroom content + exercise test data (eg. Davies, 1980; Pennsylvania Project; any test aiming to demonstrate effect of selection or organisation, and exercise type)

A study such as Snow's (1987) comparison of subjects' L1 and L2 skills on a given task would thus be a combination of types 2 and 8.

The claim that might be made is that non-test data arising from content and/or exercise variables (ie, types 6 and 8) is the type of data which is hardest to come upon (despite publishers' frequent claims to have have trialled their materials before publication). At the same time it is the kind of data analysis most likely to be of direct service to teachers. This is because accumulated information about students' interaction with materials is most likely to be generalisable

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to the classroom, as well as being most obviously directly relatable to the major decisions which teachers can take. One might define materials as being the 'locus' of learning: they define problems which learners are invited to resolve in order to learn. They may of course underlie much of direct teacher-class interaction. The teacher's presentation routine for new vocabulary for instance, may resemble an unwritten exercise which the teacher enacts on the entire class. Within the 'locus', or learning space defined by the task, learners may bring a variety of strategies to bear. An understanding of probable responses by learners to given tasks can thus provide a step towards a better appreciation, on the part of learners or teachers, of how given exercises may help to promote learning. The present research, fits into the type 8 model of research, namely, one-off exercise data.

The purpose of this section has been to provide an overview of the types of research that have been explored with a view to providing information likely to be relevant for the development of foreign language pedagogy. The account is of necessity schematic. However, it situates the present project, namely of accumulating data from the language produced by students working with given exercises. We now turn, in the final section of this chapter, to consider the specific reasons for studying exercises which are intended to develop oral fluency.

2.6 The focus of the study

When, in 1970, Jakobovits considered the possibility of changes away from courses providing highly structured input towards less directive methodologies, he asked:

But can [students] really learn more effectively in this rather free-floating manner than through the carefully worked out sequential steps of phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, etc of the usual text or materials? This is of course the ultimate question and it is an empirical one. Arguments cannot resolve the issue.

(Jakobovits, 1970:148)

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This warning has apparently done little either to produce empirical evidence or to inhibit argument. Quite a considerable amount of publishing space has been taken up with discussions of the desirability of the shift towards communicatively oriented teaching programmes. Very little up until recently has been printed which can enable us to begin to answer the 'ultimate question'.

Of course argument and discussion is not in itself a bad thing: debate involves questioning of old assumptions and the exploration of new ones, and improved understanding can only come at the cost of consensus. Furthermore, the relative emphasis on exploratory debate rather than on documentation is not surprising. First of all it is necessary to establish a set of procedures for use in the classroom, and much of the last fifteen years, as we have seen in chapter 1, has been spent doing this. Next, as we have pointed out, it is impossible to produce conditions sufficiently controlled to really resolve Jakobovits' questions; it may be possible to get relevant information; but we should not be surprised if it turns out that the question needs to be changed. Indeed it could be argued that Jakobovits' hypothesis is too wide-ranging. Narrower, more specific hypotheses need to be tested to refine the broad assumptions (cf Popper, 1960: 88-9). Nonetheless, a general inspiration may be essential for smaller projects to be perceived as worth doing (cf Popper's remarks on the untestable but invaluable function of a theory such as Darwinism, 1976:171). There are, however, a number of reasons for thinking that research is needed into the effects of specific exercise types.

First of all, communicative fluency-oriented exercises are being widely used for at least some classroom activities. Materials (eg. Geddes & Sturtridge, 1979; Matthews & Read, 1981) and articles (eg. many of those in Brumfit & Johnson, 1979; Johnson & Morrow, 1981) often explicitly make claims for the approach. For example, Brumfit writes:

A communicative methodology, then, would start from communication. As they attempted the exercises, students would have to stretch their linguistic capabilities to perform the given tasks [...]. Such a procedure is not merely an answer to a motivation problem; even

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more it is a matter of learning principle, for the complexity of the linguistic and communicative systems being operated require that new learning must be closely assimilated with what is already known, and if language is being learnt for use, then new learning must be directly associated with use. And use implies more than simply more or less meaningful language functions in the classroom: ideally the language used should have a specifiable cognitive and affective relationship with the learner-users.

(Brumfit, 1979:188-9)

There is some onus here on the profession to provide some instances in which language has indeed some specifiable relationship with the learners. A basis must be laid for understanding the way in which different tasks promote fluency through such relationships, and of how specific exercises might serve to enable new learning to be directly associated with use.

At the same time, criticism is beginning to appear of the use of fluency materials which is not itself always based on evidence other than on a justifiable (though tautologous) conviction that too much of anything cannot be desirable (eg. Abbott, 1981; Long, 1985a). And of course, there are echoes of Jakobovits' hope that data be provided. Richards, for instance, recently criticised 'the weak empirical basis upon which most methods are founded'. He adds:

If the methodology of language teaching is to move beyond the domain of speculation and dogma, its practitioners must become more seriously concerned with the issues of accountability and evaluation than its recent history has evidenced.

(Richards, 1984:21)

Clearly there is a need for some accountability on the part of theorists to substantiate their theories by confronting specific applications of their ideas to the classroom, just as teachers themselves need to be accountable to their learners and the society in which they work by reference to a substantiating body of theory (cf Bygate, 1986 unpub., Murphy, 1985, for fuller discussion). It is however unlikely that it will be possible to prove the case of the superior efficiency of one approach over another. What is possible, on the other hand, is to document the kinds of development or performance that are

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attested for certain groups of students working with given sets of materials, or to chart the kinds of language arising in certain teaching procedures. There are then some levels of accountability which language teaching research should be able to satisfy.

First of all, while calls have often been made for adequate testing of materials (eg. Brumfit's nine slogans, 1977), in fact far more information could usefully be given than is generally the case to practising or future teachers about the kinds of language performance and language development they can reasonably expect to arise from the use of a given set of procedures. They need to know what subtypes of activity might be involved, so that they can use them with discernment and with a reasonable degree of sophistication. This is all the more necessary when the materials (as in the case of those intended to develop oral fluency through group work) do not by definition enable the teacher to have a clear idea of what, if anything, is going on in the groups. He may apply the materials and then find that the effects do not show up in the sort of tests he is using at the end of the term.

This then raises questions of accountability of methodologists, teacher trainers and materials writers to teachers who contemplate using such activities, and by implication to the learners likely to be doing them. An underlying concern of the teacher must after all be to make learners sensitive to ways in which they are, or could be, developing. Students in oral group work - as in any other activity - can perhaps benefit from an insight into the possible advantages and dangers of working in groups. In particular, they may be led towards a clear understanding of what is in it for them, as well as what they themselves should expect to have to put into it. Arising out of the preceding remarks, it should be clear that in general it would be reasonable to have higher expectations of a classroom in which teacher and students are working in harmony. The teacher is more likely to be able to contribute positively to the learning process if he is well informed about the kinds of behaviour and problems that might arise.

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If teachers are to integrate fluency activities into their classroom, there should be some account of how fluency activities may be expected to contribute towards learning. It may not be easy to quantify the learning, or to compare it to that promoted by other approaches. At the same time it should be possible to document claims that some useful learning is actually going on. Some teachers, for instance, even seem surprised that group tasks get completed, or that the language which students use is by and large correct.

Finally, and in a broader perspective, it may be possible to build up a picture of developing learner behaviour by gradually accumulating more data. The present project, then, has as general aim to explore the language of learners working on such tasks. Before, considering the theoretical background to the study of oral language skills, it might be useful to consider other comparable studies.

A number of such studies have in fact already been undertaken into the language produced by students on unscripted oral tasks. Two separate sets of projects have emerged, one clustered around Krashen's 'comprehensible input' hypothesis (eg. Aston, 1986; Long, 1981; Pica, 1987; Doughty & Pica, 1986; Varonis & Gass, 1985), the second assessing the role of communication exercises in the training of both mother tongue and foreign language skills (eg Anderson, 1985; Brown, Anderson, Shilcock & Yule, 1984; Brown & Yule, 1983b).

The former group is largely oriented to the hypothesis that oral interaction contributes to language learning only insofar as it promotes comprehensible input by encouraging negotiation of meaning. Negotiation of meaning is defined in these studies, along lines suggested by Long (1981), as consisting of discourse moves aimed at checking, correcting and confirming comprehension (for a detailed account of these features see Varonis & Gass, 1985). Studies (eg. Pica & Doughty, 1986) suggest that negotiation of meaning occurs more frequently in activities involving mutual exchange of information between speakers rather than in one-way communication tasks. Similar effects were found for the composition of groups: negotiation of

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meaning was more frequent in multilingual groups of different levels of proficiency.

It could of course be that the features of negotiation of meaning as defined by Long, Varonis & Gass and others are crucial to language development, and that they are thus an important variable to focus on. However, as Aston has argued (1986), it is unlikely that negotiation of meaning is always and only the one justification for the use of oral activities. For one thing, the wrong meanings or forms may be negotiated in group work. Also, too much negotiation is likely to prove a strain to learners, just as it can to people in other situations. In any case, to date no attempt has been made to study a relationship between this kind of interaction in classes and learning (see Long & Porter, 1985 for a review of research in this area). A further objection to this line of study is that it is narrowly exclusive, leaving out of account a large number of other features of discourse that may be engaged through the use of activities. One might feel that if learners learn - at least in part - by doing, then presumably they also learn something in other kinds of interaction than the kind focussed on in these studies. Finally, the notion of 'negotiation of meaning' is defined in a highly restrictive manner in this school of thought. A broader view of negotiation of meaning might enable research to focus not merely on the hypothesis that one factor is crucial to language acquisition (after all, in itself a rather unlikely hypothesis) but on the richer learning problems that a particular exercise, or set of exercises, might be found to set up.

The second set of studies of Brown and colleagues (eg A.Anderson, 1985; Brown & Yule, 1983b) focusses more on this variety of aspects of the task variable. The approach described in Brown & Yule (1983b) concentrates on the skill of producing extended monologue-like turns structured around a communication task such as narrating a story or accident sequence involving model cars; or giving instructions to assemble a Lego structure (cf Dechert, 1983 and Wagner, 1983 for similar studies). They comment in particular on the way in which information content may create problems for speakers in handling

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reference with clarity. So for instance, references will be harder to handle in narratives which involve an increasing number of agents, and where the agents have common attributes (such as same sex, same age; or vehicles of the same category). The authors suggest that the oral skill of learners can be developed by accustoming them to dealing with such difficulties by increasing the complexity of the tasks they are given to do.

While the cognitive variables represented by the information content provide one area for study, A.Anderson (1985) studies features of task design which might encourage native speakers to express themselves with clarity. Anderson suggests that part of the difficulty for some native speakers is that they do not adequately take into consideration the state of knowledge of their interlocutors. Thus they tend towards relative ellipsis and inexplicitness in conveying information, assuming that further communicative effort is unnecessary. Anderson investigated therefore how far attentive listening might be an important ingredient for developing effective oral skills, since a demanding listener would encourage the speaker to greater explicitness. Evaluating production by the amount and accuracy of information communicated, Anderson reports that listeners were more demanding of speakers where tasks provided both speaker and listener with different information as well as with congruent information. Lack of provision of these two features appeared to encourage a more passive role on the part of the listeners, which in turn could be thought to lower the demand on, and thus the performance, of the speakers.

Clearly the effects reported by Anderson are similar to those described by Long & Porter (1985). Negotiation of meaning is more frequent where all speakers involved have information to contribute. The main difference between the two sets of studies is that whereas the research reported in Long & Porter identifies negotiation of meaning as important for its role as a means, and perhaps a stimulus, for the growth of language knowledge, the projects developed by Brown and associates have been more concerned with negotiation of meaning as a stimulus for developing discourse skills.

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Such research as that produced by Long and Brown and their respective associates does provide some measure of accountability to teachers, in the form of a certain number of quantitative features that can be related to the quality of the communication, or to the quality of the learning. However, it is possible to outline a slightly wider set of questions which might initially lay a basis for a fuller description of the language activity engaged in by learners in a variety of tasks. These are as follows:

1. Does it make any difference which fluency activity the teacher uses, or are they essentially all the same?
2. Is there any basis for selecting certain subtypes of activity for different levels?
3. What sorts of practice can be expected of different activities, or of such activities in general, and what kinds of language progress?
4. Is there any way in which students can be prepared for such activities, and are there any specifically useful types of follow-up activities?

What we are interested in is a basically unsophisticated question: what are the major language effects of asking students to perform five different communication activities, and how can these features be potentially related to the learning process? Finding responses to these questions should go some way towards providing some of the accountability that Richards argues is needed.

The research framework is basically that of a case study. Eleven groups have been recorded on five different communication exercises. The aim is to show ways in which the groups interact with the tasks; the ways in which a group may establish a characteristic mode of operation; and the linguistic - and potential learning - effects of these patterns.

The aim of the first two chapters has been to place this project within the context of recent educational and pedagogical developments (chapter 1) and to relate it to recent research (the present chapter). The remainder of the study is organised as follows. In chapters 3 and 4 we

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discuss the theory of and research into the skill of oral production (chapter 3) and into strategies of communication (chapter 4). Chapter 5 describes the way the data was collected and presents the principal units of analysis. In chapters 6-10 we undertake a detailed analysis of the data, ranging from such aspects as quantitative features of the length, syntax and distribution of turns (chapter 6); the ways in which the tasks are structured by the groups (chapter 7); syntactic (chapter 8) and lexical strategies (chapter 9); and turn-structuring strategies in chapter 10. Chapters 6 and 10 also present a statistical analysis of the differences of occurrence of the units analysed across the five tasks. In chapter 11 we discuss the findings and potential pedagogical implications. Chapter 12 provides a summary of the argument, with suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 3: ORAL ABILITY AS SKILL

3.0 Introduction

The subject of this chapter and the next is the skill of speaking. This is intended to provide a basis for analysing and interpreting the data which forms the centre of this study.

As has already been noted (chapter 1), it is common to describe language ability in terms of linguistic knowledge. The problem that this can give rise to is that an inventory of linguistic units can convey a picture of ideal speaker/hearers, which may mean speakers who speak like a book. It may produce readers who read like tape recorders, who work word by word through the text in linear fashion, expecting to record not merely every idea of every sentence, but every word as well. Not only can this approach produce language users who are unlike normal native users of language; it is also likely to produce a large number of quite desperate learners, if the psychological demands placed on their learning and processing capacities are unrealistically heavy. A description of language as an object divorced from its conditions of use runs this risk in two ways. The first is the danger of assuming equiprobability; the second is an overemphasis on well-formedness. It is worth considering these two dangers briefly.

3.1 Problems in a linguistic view of language skills

Equiprobability is characteristic of the 'tabula rasa' view of language and of language learning. According to this view, language is composed of chunks all of the same status and with the same likelihood of occurrence. Structuralist approaches to language description, by emphasising the importance of knowing all the possible features of distribution of language items, tend to adopt this perspective. Perhaps any atomistic theory will tend to concentrate on what combinations of atoms are permitted or possible, rather than on what combinations will tend to cooccur. Yet as Bolinger has consistently argued (eg 1971,

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1972, 1976), the acceptability of many types of combinations depends on the lexical items used. For instance, of the following examples, the first is less acceptable than the second:

- 1) Can I have a sentence with you in private?
- 2) Can I have a word with you in private?

Lexical items commonly have their own idiosyncratic collocational relations, making their occurrence in some sequences more felicitous than in others. The abstract word classes themselves have only the widest of combinatorial possibilities which are then narrowed down for any given cooccurrences of items.

In a different way, the same point has been made by frequency studies. As we have already seen (chapter 1) White (1975) writes of 'clusters' of linguistic items typically co-occurring in given types of discourse. This view has now been applied more widely to language acquisition. Various writers have suggested that much language learning consists of breaking down item-learnt sequences into sub-sequences (eg. Bolinger, 1976; Clark, 1974; Cruttenden, 1977; Dechert, 1983; Wong-Fillmore, 1979; Hakuta, 1976; McDonough, 1981; Peters, 1983; Sampson, 1982; Wagner-Gough, 1975; Wilkins, 1976). Bolinger in particular suggests that the limitations on the various syntactic transformations possible for a given phrase are learnt by dint of experience of the phrase. The memory of occurrences of the sequence includes certain transformations (or substitutions, or expansions) but excludes others, with the result that certain combinations of syntactic transformation and lexical phrase sound odd. The rules, and the items forming the working substance of the language are not, then, discrete equiprobable items, and so learning them does not involve merely learning all possible phrase markers and then practising all possible substitutions on a random basis. Knowledge of a language includes knowledge of commonly associated chunks. This knowledge could be seen as a 'construct' developed by the user through familiarity with the use of the elements of the language.

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We said that the second notion that arises from an idealised description of the language was that of structural well-formedness. This arises out of a desire to concentrate on the possible sequences of word classes allowed by a given language (eg. Harris, 1952). An abstract view of the rules of the language aims at establishing a complete inventory of 'structural sequences'. In a sense there is nothing wrong with doing this as a primary reconnaissance exercise. However, things can go wrong when the structure is then taught per se, rather than in relation to the linguistic exponents it most typically tends to have. The 'rule' is thus presented as an abstract entity - what one might call a 'unit of operation' - which, if properly learnt, will be used as an entity without pause or hesitation in whatever circumstances.

The trouble with this is similar to that of equiprobability, namely that this is not the way in which language structures are used: instead lexical exponents may well turn out to be typically used with fairly specific structures, and the combinations of these structures, or occurrences of smaller stretches than these units, may also occur very frequently. In other words, repertoires of structures are not used exclusively: sequences of structures are improvised; and so are sub-structures (see chapter 10 for fuller discussion of this point). After all, a speaker uses syntactic sequences in order to employ relevant lexical items in combination, not in order to speak using full structures. Therefore, if the lexical items he needs require shorter structures in order to be well-formed - for instance a lone noun, a mere adverbial phrase, or a single auxiliary - these should be the units to which he should be exposed. Whereas if a structuralist model were to be believed (and here I am including the classic TG models as structuralist) then the speaker necessarily knows the entire structure of his sentence before he embarks on it. However it is by no means certain that this is the case (cf for example Garrett, 1980).

It may well be, for instance, that sentences are started in certain ways in order to get attention, in order to signal the topic immediately or in order to establish cohesion. The speaker then has to

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find the predicate of the sentence which will make his speech well-formed. In finding his predicate, he may well have a choice, and so he may end up with a structure that is quite different from any he might have planned at the outset. As Jacobs & Jackson say (1983:52) with reference to the organisation of conversations, the resulting endstate may be quite unenvisaged at the beginning, or indeed during the course of the activity. This is likely to be just as true of the execution of any piece of speech, so that during production of an utterance, speakers often tack compatible structures or sub-structures on to what has gone before.

Well-formedness of course also leaves out a further aspect of spoken discourse, namely the considerable amount of repairing that goes on during talk. People often backtrack and rephrase, and this is not merely for reasons of politeness or because of late monitoring: it must also be due on occasion to the fact that the speaker finds himself wishing to use a given lexical item for semantic or stylistic reasons, and then finds that the lexical item in question is not compatible with the sentence structure with which he started out.

It is for reasons of this type that it seems worth looking at spoken language from the point of view of the skill involved in handling language for communication, orally, and without a script, in order to be able then to consider what types of strategies speakers may be expected to use in order to survive as speakers (see chapter 4). First then, in this chapter we will look more closely at oral ability as a skill.

3.2 The major characteristics of a skill

Various writers have discussed the nature of skills, although not usually in connection with foreign language learning (eg. J.R.Anderson, 1985; Reed, 1968). McDonough (1981) identifies four major features of a skill. Firstly, it is hierarchical, which is to say that it involves a series of decisions to be taken at different levels, the highest level involving overall intentions and general message, with the lowest level

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involving the motor skills needed for carrying out the task. The second characteristic is that the levels are integrated during the activity, resulting in smooth operation. The third feature is that the performer is able to anticipate, to assess the situation - which may often itself be dynamic - and is thus able to prepare himself in advance to act at the appropriate moment in an appropriate way (often more than one solution would be appropriate). Finally, the individual can use feedback to monitor his performance and assess whether his aim has been achieved as he had intended, making alterations where necessary. The central feature of this model is that of the hierarchy.

Various writers have discussed the hierarchy of skills in relation to language use (eg. Beattie, 1980; Butterworth, 1980b; Clark & Clark, 1977; Levelt, 1978; Johnson, 1986, forthcoming; McDonough, 1981). Much of the study by Miller, Galanter & Pribram (1960), although it does not primarily address itself to language use, is nonetheless equally applicable to it. The authors discuss behaviour in terms of plans which are 'any hierarchical process in the organism that can control the order in which a sequence of operations is to be performed'. In conforming to this definition, language skills are just one of many forms of human activity in which the physical actions are performed in the context of an overall intention adopted by the subject. How are the physical and mental levels connected?

In order to realise the intention, a series of decisions have to be taken, some of them performing preliminary or intermediate steps enabling the final, physical, step to be enacted. These sub-plans will have to be performed in sequence in order to attain the desired end point. Thus, in communication, ideas have to be articulated in sequence, certain ideas preferably preceding others. The articulation of each idea then requires semantic decisions and subsequent lexical and morphological decisions, before being finally pronounced. An argument will be made up of more than one idea ; each idea will be expressed by more than one word; and most words will be made up by more than one phoneme. A unit, that is, has to be represented by a string of sub-units, which take time to produce.

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This is no different from any other skill in which a series of physical actions has to be performed in real time in order to fulfil an intention. Sometimes certain plans require other plans to be performed in the middle of the main plan, giving rise to embedded plans, as for instance when a speaker introduces a parenthesis into his discourse. Sometimes plans may come into conflict, causing hesitation or confusion at any one of the decision levels that are relevant to a given task, as for example when a speaker changes his choice of words or reformulates his utterance. Finally, there are one-off plans, elaborated for a single occasion; and recurrent plans, which are used time and again in order to deal with specific types of problems. Presumably it is possible to use recurrent plans in a formulaic manner, in such a way that the use of the plan becomes conventional. However, it may be that recurrent plans can be used, perhaps uncomfortably, in order to deal with a problem. In this latter case, we could perhaps speak of the strategic use of plans.

Levelt (1978), in a succinct article, discusses the notion of a skill hierarchy in relation to language processing. He identifies various decisions which a speaker has to make

such as for instance deciding on topic and new comment to be made, and selecting a certain syntactic schema. In its turn, the realization of this schema requires subactivities like formulating successive phrases which can express different parts of the intention. Within these phrases word-retrieval operations have to be executed until the phrase is completed. But each word in its turn has to be realized phonetically by the activation of articulatory patterns, etc.

(Levelt, 1978: 57)

The process is cyclical, since Levelt suggests that 'after completion of lower level tasks control must be returned to higher levels' (1978: 57).

Beattie (1980) and Butterworth (1980) similarly suggest that the highest level planning is done cyclically, so that speech can be typically divided into two phases, 'planning phases' and 'execution phases'. During a planning phase, the speaker will typically continue

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speaking in order to hold the floor, albeit more hesitantly. Then, moving into the more fluent 'execution phase', the speaker will articulate with very few hesitations - in their data up to a mean of eight clauses. It is clear that what is meant by 'planning' here is message planning: once the main direction has been planned, further sub-plans may still need to be elaborated in order to attain the selected goal. At the same time, such a view would explain to some degree the need that speakers may have for automatic speech, which can be used to hold the floor during planning.

This general view of the planning involved in speaking has been given more precise description by Clark & Clark, who divide the hierarchy into five levels: discourse plans; sentence plans; constituent plans; articulatory programmes; and articulations (Clark & Clark, 1977: 223-258). Discourse plans are of two kinds. The first level is rhetorical, and relates to the setting up of an appropriate exchange type. This involves negotiating conversations by anticipating one's own, and one's interlocutor's, exchange patterns. This will enable the speaker to plan for a short or an extended speaking turn.

The second kind of discourse planning, and perhaps the most significant one, is that of ideational planning. This involves topic selection, as well as some topic organization. An example of this is Linde & Labov's (1975) account of how subjects will organise descriptions of their flats on the basis of a tour plan. In a similar way, many descriptions can be turned into narrative by the simple expedient of ordering the description in the form of a sequence of observations which could be taken in time.

Having settled on a broad plan, the speaker then engages in planning his sentence. This the authors see as firstly, planning propositional content (what they call 'experiential chunking'); next planning illocutionary content, (or the purpose for which the sentence will be uttered ; and finally, planning thematic structure. This last involves organising the sentence appropriately in terms of given and new information, subject and predicate, and theme and rheme.

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While this general view has a lot to commend it, clearly it is a broad generalisation of what happens on any given instance, and gives the impression that planning language production simply follows a sequence of discrete decisions ordered as follows: meaning → syntax → pronunciation. And while Clark & Clark agree that speakers do not usually plan whole sentences at once (1977:248), nevertheless, the impression they give is of a whole series of fresh plans being made in order to realize each item in the sentence, and it is highly unlikely that this in fact occurs.

One might also take issue with the kind of sentence plan which they suggest a speaker typically forms. Forming a skeleton plan, and then 'flesh[ing] out the skeleton with words' (1977:249) is tantamount to suggesting that the last decision the speaker takes is to insert lexical items into a syntactic frame. Whereas as we are well aware, a single message can be encoded in a large variety of ways. This suggests that lexical items might sometimes be available before the syntax. What is intuitively more likely is that the sequence can vary: syntactic decisions occur before lexical decisions, but equally lexical decisions can give rise to syntactic decisions. In addition, it may well be that certain types of syntactic decisions, notably morphological rule applications, are often made relatively late (cf. Bock, 1987; Garrett, 1980). In other words, the syntactic element may not necessarily always occur at the same point of the hierarchy.

In addition Levelt points out that in order to be able to carry out higher order plans, 'partial results of earlier operations may have to be kept in STM [short term memory] in order to stay available for successful execution of later operations' (1978:57). While this is clearly important at all levels (for example, it is essential to remember what you are talking about, what your interlocutor said most recently, who you are talking to and how familiar you can be with them) Levelt points out that STM is particularly important in dealing with features of syntactic structure. One example is that of maintaining concord between subject and verb even when a subordinate relative clause intervenes between the two. Not only must the subordination

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itself be correctly handled, but the speaker must emerge from that and return to the syntactic structure that he had left unfinished and complete it correctly. Thus an early syntactic decision may have to be returned to after various lexico-syntactic and phonological decisions. Levelt argues that it is at this level that automation is important:

One of the most important characteristics of skill is that the creation of plans during performance is reduced to a bare minimum. The skillful performer has these plans available in long term memory (LTM). This is especially the case for lower level plans, such as articulatory patterns for words, phrase intonation patterns and so on. Plans which have become part of the more permanent cognitive outfit of a person, are said to be automated. The acquisition of skill consists essentially of automation of low level plans or units of activity.

(Levelt, 1978: 57)

It is worth noting that 'stored plans' may in some cases resemble 'learnt units'. In others there is also a certain amount of abstract knowledge which might be seen as 'generalisations' of tendencies of the language. This may include not only grammatical rules, but also phonotactic conventions. This could be connected to the way in which STM is better able to cope with foreign language memory tasks in advanced than in elementary learners (cf Cook (1973), Lado (1965) for related points). The point is, then, that it is uneconomical, tiring and time-consuming to construct fresh plans for each new utterance:

Initially the execution of such a unit of activity requires the allocation of a large amount of mental effort, since it has to be designed anew.

(Levelt, 1978: 57)

Such storage in LTM, however, does not give rise to rigidity, because 'it is the plan or programme which is available in permanent memory, not a cliché for the activity itself':

In each situation, therefore, the activity may be different although it is controlled by the same plan.

(Levelt, 1978: 58)

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a point which is reflected in methodologists' concern to encourage learners to practice their language in a variety of different contexts. Any useful plan should be keyed in to certain discourse types and purposes, and should be accessible whatever general context the items occur in.

At the same time, Levelt points out that a given automated plan may give rise to sub-plans which may or may not be automated,

and whose choice may depend on earlier decisions in the master plan. So, for instance, the choice of a particular lexical entry during the execution of an automated phrase building activity may depend on the choice of particular words in an earlier phrase, on a particular topic of discussion, etc.

(Levelt, 1978: 58)

This implies that even automated plans need to be 'flexible entities', and not fixed routines.

Levelt concludes from this firstly, that it is plans, not terminal activities, which should be trained, so that the plan hierarchy is not 'collapsed' into the lexical store, but is maintained in its own right. Secondly, since plans allow for non-automated lexical calls, 'training should consist of frequent use of the particular phrase structure, in varied lexical settings'. In this way the automated plan would be trained in connection with the ability to handle less automated decisions within it. Finally, it is important that the automated plan should be related to the higher level decisions:

An important feature of an automated plan is its potential to be called by higher-level plans. Training of the plan, therefore, requires integration of the class of activities in varied task settings.

(Levelt, 1978: 58)

We have followed Levelt's account at length and in some depth because it provides a detailed justification for the use of fluency activities in the teaching of all manner of subjects. While it is possible to find

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similarities between Levelt's account and a behaviourist view of language use (Levelt himself suggests that a skills approach integrates both cognitive and behaviourist concerns into a unified theory), what is distinctive is the way in which a skills approach views the lower and higher levels as potentially independent of each other, and flexible enough to accommodate alternative lower level decisions in different higher level plans. (This is perhaps another way of viewing the distinction between 'functions' and 'structures'.) Even the admission that stretches of language are formulaic in nature does not threaten Levelt's argument: for highly idiomatic speech also requires what one might call 'horizontal embedding' into syntagmas, as well as 'vertical embedding' into contexts. Levelt's discussion clarifies not only the hierarchical nature of language skill, but also what is involved if the levels are to be integrated so as to run off smoothly.

It is perhaps worth noting that Miller, Galanter & Pribram support the view that the accessibility of plans and sub-plans is by far the greatest challenge for the learner in the integration of his knowledge into a skill:

It is not storage, but retrieval, that is the real bottleneck in verbal learning. Building the connections seems far easier than finding them later.

(Miller et al., 1960: 137)

a view expressed more recently by Pawley & Syder (1983). The primitive idea of reinforcement expresses therefore only a small part of what is at issue here. So too do theories of learning which stress the problems of learning native-like usage. Having thus discussed one essential dimension of learning which learners must engage in if they are to be skilled users of a language, namely, the use of plans in a hierarchy, we now turn to one further feature of skilled behaviour, the ability to monitor.

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3.3 Monitoring

Skills are used in order to realise goals. The more demanding the goal, the more important it is to have plans stored and available and easy to use. A high degree of automation frees attention for other tasks, especially for high level ones. In addition to this, however, the performer needs to be able to use feedback to monitor his performance so as to ensure not only that he is performing well, but that the performance is meeting the intended objectives. Levelt argues that one of the reasons that performance can deteriorate when the subject is tired, or under the influence of a drug is that in either of these conditions, his ability to evaluate the task demand also deteriorates, and he thus fails to adjust his performance to a sufficient level of accuracy. He cites evidence from Wilkinson (1963) which suggests that in such cases, performance can improve if the individual is given feedback by some other arbiter. An alternative interpretation of this, however, might be that rather than fail to assess the task adequately, the individual is failing to evaluate his own performance adequately, so as to improve it where necessary. This faculty is likely to be of importance in language development.

Morrison & Low (1983) suggest that the importance of monitoring has been neglected in the theory of language teaching methodology in recent years in part because of the way Krashen has used the term in 'monitor theory'. Whether or not this is the case, monitoring is likely to be an important part of language skill, and various bits of evidence can be assembled to suggest that a speaker who does not monitor is likely not to function adequately.

Miller et al suggest that 'planning can be thought of as constructing a list of tests to perform' (1960: 38). (We might note in passing that there are quite striking similarities between this view and Neisser's (1976) cognitivist account of the functioning of perception. See also Widdowson's discussion of the parallel between Neisser's theory and Popper's theory of scientific exploration (1983)). Such a view of the use of language would appear to imply that the user continually checks

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to see whether his utterance passes the test or not. If for instance an utterance presupposes something incorrectly, or if his statement is factually incorrect, or if he uses some inappropriate word in his utterance, then the speaker may be able to infer this from the listener's reaction. If the speaker then pays no attention to the listener's reaction, then such feedback will not be available to him. Similarly if the speaker does not compare his utterance with his intention, but relies purely on interlocutor feedback, then he is likely to have difficulty in speaking in a variety of contexts (formal ones for instance).

If on the other hand he does receive such feedback, then he finds himself in the happy position of being able to correct himself. Feedback need not, however, be so specific. The listener's reactions can just as easily indicate that something is wrong by signs of boredom, impatience, incomprehension or hostility. The speaker can infer from the general audience reaction that his plan is not being realised for some reason. In Levelt's terms, some plan somewhere in the hierarchy can be construed as needing alteration. This may be carried out by some form of repair, clarification, or some similar utterance (eg. reformulation).

The point to be made here is that viewing plans as lists of tests to be performed is instructive because it brings out the hypothetical nature of planning in general, and of the planning and execution of speech (and equally of the decoding of speech received) in particular. It also clarifies the basis upon which speech adjustments are normally made. Much of the work in conversation analysis tends to show that the structuring of conversation is related to our ability to anticipate problems or to make adjustments in advance, for example by prefatory sequences intended to sound out the ground along certain conventional lines before making a request, offer or invitation (cf for instance Levinson, 1983; Schenkein (ed), 1978).

Monitoring then can be seen as occurring at quite a high level of operation, if it can also involve anticipation such that it is actually

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built into the conversation (in the form of prefaces), or if it depends on the general or specific reaction of the audience to one or a series of utterances. However, it is nevertheless the case that even here what happens is that the language user detects a discrepancy between his intentions and his actual effects. It is worth noting that this type of monitoring (which is related to general aspects of negotiation of meaning) has given us examples both of anticipatory monitoring (as for example in prefaces) and post hoc monitoring (what Miller et al (1960) call the ability to revise plans). In addition to this kind of monitoring, monitoring can also occur without the intervention of the addressee at lower levels of operation and frequently does (cf for instance Laver, 1970: 72-5 for discussion of monitoring of the phonetic level of production).

It may be that the importance of monitoring - and of learning to monitor - one's speech has sometimes been overlooked (the research reported in Anderson, 1985, suggesting that listener participation improves speaker performance could be seen as supporting this view), and here there are one or two points worth making. Firstly, the ability to monitor, like the ability to plan and to execute the plan, is going to depend partially on the attention available to the speaker. In other words, practice, automation, and overall skill are likely to improve the speaker's ability also to monitor. Secondly, successful monitoring can be thought of as implying knowledge of suitable paradigmatic alternatives. After all, if Miller et al. are right to view planning as a list of tests to perform, then the speaker has to be seen as accomplished to the extent that he can revise those tests, and improve them if his initial hypotheses turn out not to be appropriate. Thus knowledge of, and ability to scan for, appropriate lexical - or indeed syntactic - alternatives is likely to be important, just as a speaker who failed to master all the phonemic contrasts of a language would have difficulty in distinguishing between certain words, or might be incapable of correcting himself when queried. This situation is not unknown to speakers of a second language.

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A third point worth emphasising here is that monitoring only really makes sense - or is indeed possible at higher levels - when a speaker has a plan, and an intention behind the plan (cf Miller et al., 1960, chapter 4 for discussion of this). Thus when a learner uses language to communicate, it could be argued that not only is he practising forming plans, reinforcing plans, and executing plans, but he is also put in the position of having to evaluate his plans by matching his production against his intentions, or by using feedback from his interlocutor. This may well be a crucial dimension of the communicative approach to language teaching.

We have seen that monitoring of production consists of the checking of the various plans and intentions against their execution and audience response. Laver argues that revision of programmes may occur before they are executed, as well as afterwards:

the programme-planning function may be [...] involved [...] in editorial revision of programmes before they reach the articulation stage.

(Laver, 1970: 74)

Thus planning can instigate modifications before articulation, whereas the monitoring function provides corrections after articulation. The difference between the two, in Laver's view, is one of timing. Hockett (1967) termed the former 'covert editing' where the revisions are made by the planning function, and the latter type he labelled 'overt editing'.

Morrison & Low suggest that the editing carried out by the planning function can on occasion be made overt, as for example when addressees help in word searches. They give an instance of students working together where the speaker goes through a search:

1st speaker: ...Imperial skyline ...skylark ...skylighter sky what?
2nd speaker: Skyscraper.

(Morrison & Low, 1983:241)

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The sequence occurs during the planning and execution phase, since there is copious hesitation before the quoted utterance begins. This does indeed seem closely connected to, if not an extension of, the editing of the planning function noted by Laver and by Hockett. If editing occurring in the planning function may be either overt or covert, one might argue that editing in the monitoring function may also be covert as well as overt. Paraphrases, for instance, may be used imperceptibly to effect slight shifts in stance due to perceptions of some inappropriacy in earlier utterances.

Apart from editing in language production, Morrison & Low (1983) suggest that certain aspects of comprehension, particularly inferencing, may also be basically linked to a general monitoring function. Indeed, if evidence for this is needed, it might be sufficient to point to the addressee's frequent ability to correct or complete the speaker's production. Monitoring, in other words, appears to be a function of the ability of both speaker and addressee to compare a model of what was said, what is being said, and predictively of what is about to be said, against the words and phrases which are actually uttered. What Miller et al say about the execution of speech is also true of the comprehension of speech:

We have a Plan for the sentence, and as we execute it we have relatively clear impressions of what we are going to say.
(Miller et al. 1960: 144)

This is often just as true for the listener or the reader (cf Smith, 1978) (although this is not to imply that receptive skills and productive skills are the same).

3.4 A skill-based view of language ability: summary

To summarise so far then, language processing skill appears to be organised hierarchically. The hierarchy consists of plans. Automation is largely a matter of degree, with certain plans being relatively non-

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automated, in other words constructed afresh (particularly those involving higher level decisions, but also, to a lesser extent, those involving the level of lexical selection), while other plans are relatively automated.

Automated plans would include plans for the ordering of words and the insertion of appropriate inflections and function words. Criteria for selection by the speaker of appropriate inflections and function words would include both paradigmatic considerations (ie. decisions involving meaningful choices which are both frequent and often contextually predictable) and syntagmatic criteria (determined by the occurrence of a preceding or forthcoming item). Automation plans are also necessary for fluent pronunciation. This implies that some 'calls', to use Levelt's term, at the level of message formation are more or less automated, while the execution phase (mainly pronunciation) is highly automated. Further, it implies that whether a 'call' is automated or not, the association of items under a single call accounts for a further degree of automaticity (so that a phoneme string, or a lexical string, is simultaneously summoned by a single call, rather than serially, sub-item by sub-item). Syntactic structuring (the ordering and insertion of appropriate inflections or function words) is being viewed as a routine for maintaining cohesion both between sentences or phrases and within them. Finally, automated plans, especially at the syntactic level, can both call, and be called by, non-automated plans. Fluency depends on the integration of these different levels of decision-making.

A view of language processing which involves a hierarchy of plans also implies a general monitoring function. Monitoring consists of evaluating the success of plans and of their execution. This involves the speaker in evaluating his overall intention, whether or not the tools selected for achieving that intention are appropriate and as intended, and whether or not the utterance in fact achieves its intended purpose sufficiently. Monitoring is viewed as occurring both before and after execution, and we have suggested that in each case monitoring may be either overt or covert. In either case, evaluation must be based on the comparison between some goal, a plan to achieve

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it, and its realisation, its execution or its effect. Evaluation can only take place in the light of plans at a higher level, and monitoring can only operate if the speaker has attention available; a range of choice for item selection; and a communicative basis for carrying out his evaluation.

This view of language processing has many virtues. First, it connects world knowledge, and the conceiving of a particular message, to the use of linguistic resources. Secondly, it allows for the production, identification and correction of errors as part of language skill. Thirdly, it stresses the importance of 'whole skill' practice, and allows for the possibility that unskilled performance may be due to lack of practice at any level. So for instance, a speaker lacking in automaticity is going to spend far more time working on forming and executing his low level plans than he should if he is going to be able to participate fluently in an ongoing conversation. Alternatively, someone who has practised his low level plans in isolation from higher level decision-making will similarly have difficulty in selecting and executing lower level plans in communicative contexts, that is, he will have difficulty in the strategic handling of his linguistic skills.

This view thus allows for the fact that someone handling language in an unfamiliar situation for unfamiliar ends may also have difficulties. Thus a native speaker may, like a second language user, find his habitual language skill failing him when the task demand is unfamiliar. So for example, handling unfamiliar cognitive content, speaking under conditions of interpersonal stress (eg a large, unfamiliar or important audience), operating under handicap condition (such as fatigue) may cause the linguistic skills which are normally within the speaker's range to disintegrate. This may account for what can sometimes appear as surprising unevenness in foreign language production (cf papers on variability in interlanguage by eg. Ellis, 1984; 1985; Selinker & Douglas, 1985; also papers in Ellis (ed), 1987). It also places the notion of communicative competence into a practical perspective (cf. the similar discussion by Bialystok & Sharwood Smith and their distinction between knowledge and control (1985)).

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A final advantage of this view of language processing is that it enables us to suggest that a speaker can have increasingly specific plans depending on what unit of decision-making he is dealing with, and that language production is thus essentially a dynamic activity. This can allow for instance for the fact that whereas a speaker may be reasonably sure of his next words (assuming he is not working from a script), what he will say in the next sentence is less determined: his planning for forthcoming sentences may be at a more general level, and may be affected by feedback. It also allows for the fact that sentences themselves are not fully scripted before they are completed: they can be interrupted by parentheses, or receive a choice of complementation which the speaker may only determine when he reaches that point in the sentence. In other words, this hierarchical view of language processing allows for the possibility that a speaker may operate with units smaller than a sentence, while also directing his attention over units longer than a sentence. It therefore implies that practice in doing this is an essential part of language education.

Having discussed in some detail ways in which speech production can be viewed as a skill, we now turn to consider various examples of the planning of speech at different levels.

3.5 Kinds of planning in speech production

In the previous sections we discussed some of the principal features of a skill, and suggested that there are good grounds for viewing oral proficiency in this light. Not only does this allow for a sensible interrelationship between the conditioning influence of the outside world, the automated motor-perceptual abilities, and autonomous cognitive decision-making of the speaker. This view also provides a basis for considering a large part of language training and language development as concerned with the growth of ability. It might also throw a new light on testing, since whereas tests have largely tended to sample knowledge, within the present perspective importance is now likely to be given to tests which assess speakers' ability to use their knowledge in tasks with differing demands. In this section we consider

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a little more closely some of the kinds of planning which are commonly involved in oral interaction. What evidence is there that speakers plan, and do not, through force of habit, thread their intricate ways through series of corridors, going from one to the next without being able to see beyond the approaching corner?

If planning does take place, it would suggest that chunks of language are likely to be produced at a go, rather than on a word-by-word conveyor belt. One source of evidence that chunks are produced is found in studies of lapses (eg Fromkin, 1973; Garret, 1980). Where sounds, morphemes, words or phrases are exchanged or anticipated, it is clear that the speaker is not proceeding on a word by word basis, but has selected a group of words for articulation, and is executing his prepared string, item by item.

A further relatively uncontroversial source of evidence for syntactic and semantic planning is that certain syntactic markers indicate the start of a structure or of a kind of utterance. For example, various adverbial phrases or adverbs may be used in utterance- or sentence-initial position making clear the kind of function of the forthcoming phrase or sentence, or highlighting a feature of time, manner or place for the ensuing proposition. Conjuncts such as 'on the other hand', 'however', 'at the same time', 'even so' cannot be appropriately used unless the speaker has planned in some manner some part of the future discourse. Preposing an adverb of time, manner or place, or a disjunct similarly indicates that the speaker has knowledge of the type of statement he is about to make.

The planning indicated by evidence of this kind, however, does not range over very large units. Is there anything about oral language behaviour which suggests that larger units can be involved? One source of evidence is that speakers often use several utterances to make a single point (which could be made in just one). In such cases the speaker clearly has a plan, which is 'staged' (cf. Chafe, 1980b; Tannen, 1980). The relationship between several utterances and the single communicative point implies that the speaker has an overall message

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plan which he keeps in mind, and does not change until his utterances have achieved his objective. Further utterances will be produced as long as the speaker's monitoring tells him that he has still not achieved his objective.

In a similar vein, Steedman & Johnson-Laird (1980:119-134) discuss the organisation of conversational discourse in terms which would enable a computer to be compatibly programmed. Thus, for instance, computing a computer requires it to be able to use factual knowledge in the conversational context. They give a simple analogy of programming a computer to play noughts and crosses. Clearly, the choice of a given move is not purely determined by the previous move: the player has to keep alert to the possibility of using any one of the remaining spaces in order to make his line: he therefore has to select.

A comparable situation occurs in Linde & Labov's (1975) data mentioned earlier, only here a mental map may affect the sequencing chosen. Subjects' oral descriptions of their flats took the form in many cases of a guided tour starting at the front door, and following a convenient pathway round the accomodation. An alternative approach would be to describe the general organisation in terms of the overall lay-out or shape. Either approach involves forming, and holding in memory, a 'content' plan, which may be more or less cons_ciously formulated. As the speaker proceeds through his account, he ticks off the places he has already described (cf. also Levelt, 1981 for a similar study).

The fact that some kind of long term planning occurs is also suggested by analyses of story-telling. A good story teller will make sure that all the relevant information which forms part of the background to the story is introduced surreptitiously at appropriate points, so that the narrator can assume that the listeners are operating with the appropriate schemata when it is needed. This can be especially important in joke telling, as Sacks (1978) points out.

A further feature of story telling which requires the ability to plan, is that of knowing the point of the story and assessing its relevance,

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indeed stating the point, so that it will be heard as relevant to the conversational context in which it occurs. Ryave (1978) identifies two important aspects of story-telling, the significance dimension and the recounting dimension. It is the ability to note and indicate the former which enables the story-teller - and, indeed, any other turntaker - to couple an appropriate contribution into a conversational sequence. Ryave discusses the telling of stories in story sequences, and points out that if a speaker prefaces his story with an explicit link explaining the point, or alternatively does so afterwards, or even does not do so at all (the point becoming perfectly clear to his audience) he has exercised his planning ability over what might amount to potentially quite considerable chunks of speech.

Sharrock & Turner's study (1978) of complaints to the police provides another example of a similar ability to organise extensive stretches of discourse. In analysing complaints to the police delivered over the phone, the authors observe that the complainant will construct his complaint according to various principles. In particular they identify an awareness on the part of the caller as to whether he needs to explain the timing of his call; whether what he is complaining about requires explanation and justification or not; and whether the 'complainable' is sufficiently conventional to be immediately codifiable or not. In addition self-corrections suggest that the speaker may be consistently avoiding making certain types of remarks which might jeopardise their relationships and their status with the police. The planning in other words involves a series of decisions about what information to include and how to organise it.

This aspect of planning is generally true of speech, and is implied by Grice's cooperative principle (1975, see also Richards & Schmidt, 1983 for an accessible account). The principle of relevance, for instance, assumes that the speaker is able to make a comprehensive assessment of what he is about to say in the context of what has preceded. This covers not only story-telling, but also how conversations are extended. Tracy & Moran (1983), in an interesting study of ways in which speakers continue conversations following a stimulus remark, suggest

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that in following a previous speaker, a new turn has to link in coherently with what went before. According to the authors, this can be done in one of three ways:

1. Continue old topic
2. Close old topic and introduce new
3. Link the new topic with the old

They identify four types of linkage:

- a) 'script linkages', which proceed by linking both topics to the same script (eg. the 'night out' script).
- b) 'common idea linkages' in which the common idea may be what they call the 'issue' (ie. the topic or point); the 'event' (ie. the particular illustration); or a subpart of either.
- c) 'meta-issue linkages', in which the point of the previous turn can be developed by reference to a common more general observation (their example involves someone responding to a complaint about how boring a game of Monopoly was by suggesting that board games can be boring and proceeding to give an instance).
- d) 'procedural linkages', in which the conversant claims a link without making it explicit (eg 'I know what you mean', or 'That reminds me').

It is not our purpose to examine in detail the merits of this particular analysis of conversational structure. The point is rather to draw attention to the fact that these are problems which speakers have to contend with and solve in some way. Participation in conversation requires planning of one's contribution and building connections with what went before. In other words, along with the other features mentioned, coherence too implies planning.

Overall, the way discourse is structured tends to suggest that speakers plan their exchanges so as to be able to deal with specific problems which they can anticipate. Jacobs & Jackson (1983) argue that any sequencing moves that can be found in conversational analysis are in fact 'the consequence of a more fundamental system of principles by which people rationally pursue goals in conversation' (1983:51). They continue:

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Coherent discourse must be shown to be the orderly output of practical reasoning about goals, constrained by institutionally defined means of achieving those goals.

(Jacobs & Jackson, 1983: 51)

This includes references to rules for performing requests or demands. The point is that comprehension and production are assumed to be goal-directed activities, so that what people orient to in understanding each other is the goals which they can assume their interlocutors to be intending to achieve:

People initiate acts in order to change current belief/want contexts in ways that are congruent with the achievement of some goal state, that is some desired belief/want context. Likewise, people respond not to acts per se, but to the goals communicated by those acts [...].

(Jacobs & Jackson, 1983:56-7)

Thus speech utterances, rather like the exercise of any other semiotic system, are construed as existing for some purpose, and it is on this assumption that any responses are based. The authors found their approach on Grice's principles, adding firstly a 'validity rule', which pledges the speaker to believing that the illocutionary act he is engaged in is valid; and secondly, a 'reason rule' which

requires conversationalists not only to try to satisfy one another's goals, but also to try to agree with subordinate beliefs and wants conveyed by the performance of an illocutionary act.

(Jacobs & Jackson, 1983: 57)

These principles enable us to understand any structuring of discourse as purposeful. Thus for example pre-sequences, like pre-requests, are 'rational procedures [...] to determine whether or not the conditions hold [...] or [...] to try to establish the condition' (1983:63). The rational principle, in contrast with a structural principle, does have the advantage of embedding the parts of the discourse not merely in a series of linguistic sequences, but possibly in gestural or action sequences. And like pre-sequences,

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illocutionary acts can take all sorts of coherent replies, including direct action on their underlying goals, inspection of their preconditions, clarification of their propositional content or implicatures, challenges to their validity, and many other classes of response. Finally, incoherent utterances are those which have no apparent goal, or which ignore apparent goals behind other utterances, or which pursue goals in an irrational manner.

(Jacobs & Jackson, 1983:65)

The assumption that speech is generally used for attaining goals is unquestionably true, and, whether or not we assume that such goals are within the realms of linguistic analysis, they do undoubtedly provide a context within which it makes sense to think of speakers as engaging in planning which may go well beyond the immediate sentence. (Interestingly, McCawley (1981) argues in a related way that the connection between the operators of logic and logical connectors of natural language can be similarly derived via Gricean principles). We might add that all that has been said in terms of the planning of speech can also be applied to the skill with which speakers must relate any present or planned discourse to whatever has been recently uttered.

This argument, then, claims that people plan not only their individual utterances, but that at some level of generality whole strings of utterances are planned, and that evidence for this can be found in the existence of meaningful structures in discourse which cannot be executed simultaneously but must be 'linearized', to use Levelt's term (1981).

Having established this, however, clearly the nature of plans of a forthcoming sequence of utterances remains open to definition or description. To say that an utterance is in some sense planned by a speaker does not tell us anything about the form of the planning. It is therefore worth considering what the units of planning might be.

3.6. Units of planning

Chafe (1980) compares the smoothness of oral production to the apparent smoothness of a film: just as a film is in fact composed of a

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vast number of stills shown in quick succession, so spoken language creates in the perception of the listener an illusion of uninterrupted progression, which hides a series of short chunks of speech produced 'in spurts'. Of course this may be even more true where a piece of written text is concerned. The writing on the page does not indicate what parts of the production of the discourse was fluent, and which parts were the fruit of reflection and labour. Was each sentence planned as a unit, and put down on the paper with the same fluency with which it can be read? Or is the smoothness of the written text an artifice which the reader is unaware of? And if it is an artifice, through what size of unit is spoken language typically encoded?

Various studies have examined formal differences between spoken and written language (eg. Akinassio, 1982; Chafe, 1982; Devito, 1966, 1967; Drieman, 1962; O'Donnell, 1974; Ochs, 1979; Tannen, 1981). Formal differences can be found, although features tend to cluster characteristically, rather than provide clear-cut qualitative differences.

Pause analysis has been used to attempt to discover the normal lengths of spoken linguistic chunks that are encoded at a time, but appears to be inconclusive on the subject. Pawley & Syder (1983:221-2) quote Goldman-Eisler (1961, 1968) as claiming that 'in speech describing and interpreting cartoons, 75 per cent of fluent chunks were four words or fewer'. Pawley & Syder themselves have found spontaneous discourse in which 'a high proportion of clauses are uttered as fluent units'. They go on to point out that clause internal pauses are most frequent when the cognitive task is most difficult, as in a first formulation of ideas about a newly observed set of relation-ships'. Goldman-Eisler herself showed this to be the case when she asked subjects to repeat an account of a cartoon several times without stopping, not necessarily verbatim (1968). She also found similar evidence of the effect of task complexity on fluency in a study of simultaneous translation (1980).

However, Goldman-Eisler (1968:128) does refer to the possibility of the planning and execution of speech occurring in phases, and this has been

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studied more recently by Beattie (1980). In an analysis of the language produced during tutorial supervisions, Beattie discovered that the flow of speech could be divided into two distinct phases, forming a cycle: a hesitation or planning phase, and an execution phase. A whole cycle contained an average of 8.80 clauses, with 3.57 in hesitant phases, and 5.23 in fluent phases. Length of clause was not significantly different between the phases. There were about twice as many clauses of less than 7 words, than those of seven or over, and about 25% more clauses occurred in fluent phases. Hesitations were more likely to occur in clause-initial position (54.87%) than in the first half of clauses (26.55%), and they occurred least in the second half of clauses (15.04%). Long clauses were more likely to have clause-initial hesitation than short clauses, and the average length of pauses was also longer before longer clauses. The explanation for these results would be that more planning is needed before longer clauses; that planning is more often right at the start of clauses; and that fluent production is more prolific.

Having said that, it should be pointed out that only 45.91% of clauses actually contained hesitations, and of these, only 32.08% had a hesitation in clause initial position. This suggests that quite a lot of speech was produced without short term planning, and that chunks longer than one clause in length were quite frequently produced without a pause. This could of course be due to the fact that the speech was well rehearsed. In fact Beattie claims that the nature of the discourse was incompatible with automatic (ie well rehearsed) speech, but it could be argued that he is taking the word 'automatic' too literally: in academic, as in other discussions, arguments are rehearsed, and are therefore likely to become sufficiently familiar to be executed without hesitation in many circumstances. Using the notion of different levels of plans, one might suggest that while a high degree of automation can occur on low level articulatory plans, rehearsal of high level plans (such as speech routines, story-telling routines) can also make a difference to speech production which might affect the incidence of pausing. (We will return to this point in the next chapter, since it may well have important implications for teaching methodology: practising

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language by communicating random or unfamiliar meanings may be significantly harder than practising it on familiar topics, or in familiar interactional routines.)

Whether or not this is in fact the case for the academic discussions that Beattie was analysing, his data provides ample evidence that whatever planning it is that requires pauses, such planning is not necessary for quite a lot of normal speech, and that such sequences are far longer than a single clause. In particular, only 53% of clauses in hesitant phases actually carried a hesitation, against 41.30% in fluent phases - that is to say, less than 50% of clauses contained pauses, and this in discourse which Beattie claims is relatively incompatible with automatic utterances.

The fluent and hesitant phases, furthermore, showed differing tendencies to have pauses. In hesitant phases, long clauses included a pause significantly more frequently than short clauses; and these clauses had a significant tendency also to have the pause in initial position. Finally, mean length of pause in long clauses in hesitant phases was twice that of long clauses in fluent phases. Interestingly, Beattie also studied the probability of lexical items through a cloze check. Although it is not clear from his account how the results were statistically controlled (he compares scores for clause initial words, for words in the first half of clauses and for words in the second half of clauses: presumably his percentages are not a function of all words in first or second halves of clauses, but a function of the total number of gaps occurring in his tests) his results show a very strong tendency for words to be less predictable towards the ends of sentences. As Beattie points out, this is counter to the supposed effects of contextual accumulation, and has implications for the execution of the many clauses that do not include a pause. Beattie's conclusion is that the clause is not the fundamental unit of encoding. He gives three lines of evidence to support this, of which the first two are worth quoting.

· Firstly, since the majority of clauses did not contain any pause

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either it must be assumed that the majority of utterances in the present corpus did not require planning and were therefore ['automatic'] [...] or it must be accepted that planning in speech typically transcends clause boundaries. According to the latter hypothesis fluent clauses are not automatic verbalizations, but new utterances resulting from distal planning. [...] The second line of evidence is the emergence of a macro-structure in the hesitations data which suggests that higher order units (in the region of 8.80 clauses) are involved in the planning of speech.

(Beattie, 1980:80)

He concludes that his findings do not support the hypothesis that 'planning in speech universally proceeds on a clause-by-clause basis'.

Beattie's conclusions are not necessarily to be accepted en bloc. First of all, he does seem to have evidence for the existence of distal planning. The occurrence of hesitant phases followed by fluent phases would seem to bear this out. Where the two phases are not characterised by any difference in cognitive complexity, or where cognitive complexity may be considered to have actually increased in the fluent phases, the hesitation can be assumed to have some connection with discourse units larger than that of the clauses currently being executed. It would however require more analysis of what is being said during these phases to make a convincing case of this argument. For while long term planning may be the explanation of the hesitant phase, there could be other explanations. One might be that speakers periodically consider expressing thoughts which are difficult to encode, hesitate, and then revert to more easily expressed ideas so as to remain cooperative conversationalists. Another explanation might be that the problem faced by the speakers is that of preparing their interlocutor for a more complex message, and that therefore he needs to frame his introduction more carefully, and allow his interlocutor more time for processing.

The second point to make about Beattie's conclusions is that he has not established the degree of syntactic planning which hesitation phases are capable of elaborating. Whereas it is perfectly feasible for planning of a propositional nature to be reviewed every eight clauses or so, it is difficult to envisage detailed syntactic planning so far in

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advance. In order to trace this, it would be necessary to examine any repairs engaged in by speakers, or any elaborations which the speaker cannot reasonably be expected to have planned far in advance, but, on the contrary, which can only arise as a response to listener reaction. In other words, Beattie has established that pauses are not necessary for immediate syntactic planning; that by implication, pausing is probably more often devoted to propositional organisation than syntactic planning; that planning is often undertaken over long stretches of speech, or if not, that routinisation of propositional content may have the same effect. He also has evidence that quite a lot of pauses are related to problems of lexical selection.

From this discussion we will retain the potentially significant fact that long sequences of speech can be delivered fluently, without pause or hesitation. We will suggest that this may not be due to the effects of grammatical planning so much as propositional planning. Furthermore, where the topics and arguments are familiar - and thus routinized in some way - the fluent chunks may be longer (cf C.J. Fillmore's discussion of the fluency of professional talkers, 1979).

Garrett (1980) produces some evidence of units of language processing. In an analysis of native speaker slips, he notes that whereas pronunciation slips tend to occur within a single phrase, most word slips (slips include exchanges, perseveration/anticipation error, stranding errors) occur across phrases, but within a clause ('80% are within clauses'):

Moreover, those exceptions to this constraint are revealing. First of all, in those cases, the parallelism of structure is most striking, and second if there is any case to be made for effects of meaning relations it is here. Garrett, 1980:193)

Garrett gives examples of sentences in which lexical items have been exchanged between clauses:

read the newspapers, watch the radio and listen to TV

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every time I put one of these buttons off, another one comes on

Garrett continues with the point that since phonetic exchanges do not reflect parallelism,

[t]his would suggest the organization of the structure guiding construction of the functional level representation honors clause structure. That, and the seriousness with which we take evidence of involvement of meaning relations, will affect the formal linguistic interpretation of these planning structures.

(Garrett, 1980:193)

The point then is that whereas lexical exchanges take place over variable stretches of language, sometimes over intervening lexical items as well as function words, and generally involve similar word classes, pronunciation exchanges on the other hand are generally over shorter spaces, and where they do bridge gaps 'these are more likely to be closed class ('function words') than is the case for the same error span in a word exchange' (1980: 200) This in turn suggests that the two kinds of errors take place at different stages of planning.

A further class of lapse is discussed, which Garrett calls 'stranding errors'. These are exchanges where one of the lexical items exchanged leaves behind a bound morpheme, which then attaches itself to the exchanged item:

You have to square it facely

He facilitated what he was doing to remove the barricade

(Garrett, 1980: 197-8)

In the first example stranding occurs within a phrase, whereas in the second a whole phrase moves with its dominant verb. In the MIT corpus, from which Garrett obtains his data, the vast majority of stranding errors (64%) involve only inflectional morphemes, while a further 23% involve an inflectional morpheme and a derivational morpheme. The significance of this is that the inflections stay in the positions

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required by the clause structure: what is exchanged is the free morpheme. This leads Garrett to the opinion that the operation can be described 'in terms of the assignment of the major category vocabulary items to an "inflectional frame"' (1980:198). This then raises the question of whether the 'planning frame' is decided first, with major category lexical items being assigned to places in the frame subsequently, or whether it is word selection which guides the selection of planning frames. This is linked to the problem of introducing the sound specification:

The most straightforward answer seems to be that assignment to an inflectionally and prosodically specified planning frame will require at least partial specification of the form of the words to be inserted in the frame. Thus, two points of possible effect arise: 1) the correspondence relation between frame features and insertion candidates, and 2) the description which directs retrieval of required forms from the lexical inventory.

(Garrett, 1980: 200) (my underlining)

Alternatively, information about form can be excluded from the 'functional level processes' while attempting to retain some mark of lexical identity at the functional level, leading to a 'double retrieval hypothesis':

That is, those features of lexical description which bear upon meaning relations and upon the syntactic environments in which a word can appear must be available at the functional level [...] to account for: 1) the word exchanges which do take place at that level, and 2) to provide the sort of information which could guide selection of planning frames for the construction of positional level representation.

(Garrett, 1980: 200) (my underlining)

In the former case, the problem seems oriented to the retrieval of lexical items starting from the frame, whereas the second alternative offers the possibility of selecting planning frames on the basis of lexical description (cf. Bock, 1987; Rosenberg, 1977b for other discussions of this).

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Garrett does not resolve these questions but he does note that different features of planning must give rise to many of the various types of speech error, indicating at the same time that planning involves dealing with units of different levels and differing scope. Thus it is possible to identify features of planning which do not involve meaning relations (eg. sound exchanges; perseverations/anticipations); those which involve structure but not sound or meaning (word exchanges; strandings); those which involve formal similarity (malapropisms); and those which involve meaning similarity (blends). Where problems continue to abound, however, is over the modality and scope of syntactic planning. Are frames planned in advance, or are they elaborated bit by bit? Could not strandings occur as the sentence is being developed, the position of inflections being held in short term memory as the lexical selection proceeds? Could not structure be generated by the selection of lexical items? Pawley & Syder argue that it could.

They suggest (1983) that there are two essential ways of producing speech (see also Chafe, 1980, 1982), 'clause-chaining' and 'clause-integrating', and that these impose differing processing loads on speaker and listener:

When the spontaneous speaker embarks on a stretch of novel discourse extending over several clauses, he does not (as a rule) know in advance exactly what he is going to say beyond the first few words. He must gamble on being able to finish what he has started. The risks of syntactic breakdown are greater when using the integrating style. With the chaining style, a speaker can maintain grammatical and semantic continuity because his clauses can be planned more or less independently, and each major semantic unit, being only a single clause, can be encoded and uttered without internal breaks. To achieve the same degree of coherence using the integrating style the speaker generally must reduce his articulation rate and/or make more frequent clause internal pauses.

(Pawley & Syder, 1983: 203-4)

This then suggests a syntactic pressure on the spontaneous speaker which leads him to prefer certain clause structures if he is to avoid excessive pausing. Pawley & Syder suggest that clause-chaining is in fact preferred to avoid mid-clause breaks, and they suggest that there

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is a 'one clause at a time facility' in communicative competence in English. There are however problems here too.

The distinction between longer and shorter term planning is not made; and it is not clear how this scheme of sentence planning ties in with the use of 'lexicalised sentence stems' which they claim are the basis for the clause-chaining mode of operation. In a footnote they distinguish between semantic and syntactic planning on the one hand, and full lexical planning of an utterance:

It is one thing to plan a syntactic frame such as If s then s, While you VP I'll V that S, and it is another thing to produce the complete sentence without hesitation or change of course.

(Pawley & Syder, 1983: 222)

The solution that one is tempted to adopt is to suggest firstly that certain types of structural decisions are taken basically as framing devices often with the aim of playing for time or on the basis of cohesive considerations. In such cases, the whole sentence is not pre-planned, but the initial part of the sentence may simply involve setting up a particular type of construction (eg an infinitive construction) to carry the main proposition. At other times, it would appear possible that lexicalised sentence stems, or holistic sequences, would initially be selected and would tend to carry with them their own syntactic frames. That is, in some cases sentences may be started, carried on or completed by syntactic 'devices' which have a generally cohesive role; while in others the syntax would be 'lexically driven' (cf Hatch, 1983: 84-7, on Kempen & Hoenkamp's 'procedural grammar').

As can be seen from this extensive discussion, the units of sentence planning are not clearly specified. The types of decisions which a speaker needs to take can be quite wide-ranging, and in particular involve planning in general semantic ('distal') terms over several clauses. Syntactic planning may involve setting up sentence frames on a 'clause-at-a-time' basis, but one would doubt whether Beattie's proposal that this can be done for several clauses at a time is likely to be confirmed. What is more likely is that propositional planning takes

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place over some such scale, and that this can have the effect of enabling the speaker once he is confident of his content to speak fluently for several clauses.

This view is echoed by Garrett, who suggests that there are two possibilities: where a sentence frame is initially set up, this is unlikely to be done without reference to some propositional content previously envisaged. On the other hand, he also implicitly allows the possibility of lexical items themselves helping to select the syntactic frame. The proposal for the existence of sentence stems by Pawley & Syder, although it explicitly brings syntax within the realm of lexical decisions, still fails to address the way in which such decisions may be taken procedurally. Thus, although there is evidence that planning does affect units at various levels of a hierarchy, we have no model which translates the complex decisions into a procedural framework. Finally, it is worth pointing out that the decisions that are taken at lower levels generally involve such little time for thought that the systems of decision and monitoring must be both clear and accessible for the speaker to pay attention to the questions of selection and emphasis which Pawley & Syder rightly point out are so important.

The relevance of this discussion for the analysis and teaching of oral production is as follows. Firstly, Beattie's study indicates that there are good grounds for believing that fluent production may be affected by the opportunity to plan extended turns. We have also suggested that this ability is quite possibly enhanced by the speaker's familiarity with the subject matter, and with the task of having to express it orally (cf Ochs, 1979 for discussion of the role of planning in discourse production). Secondly, the paper by Garrett suggests that while lexical units may often be sought to fill sentential frames, sentential frames may in turn frequently be elaborated as a result of the lexical items chosen. Pawley & Syder's study (and also Bock, 1987) lends support to this view. This might be an aspect of oral language skill which can only be practised in unscripted production.

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3.7 Negotiating meaning

We have so far sketched a picture of the production of oral language which emphasises the intricacies involved in connecting decisions at one level to decisions at another, as well as those involved in making new decisions, and in connecting the current discourse to what has gone before. It might be appropriate briefly to consider one further aspect of oral skill, namely the communication of meaning.

Van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) suggest that as a speaker formulates a message, he is likely to draw largely on his episodic memory store to meet the pragmatic demands of intentions formed in response to the current speech situation. In doing this, he produces a semantic macrostructure for his utterance. This macrostructure, since it relates to an utterance, by definition can become a part of the speaker's episodic memory. They suggest various ways in which this macrostructure may be fully planned: by drawing on previously unrelated information in the speaker's episodic memory; by drawing the utterance directly from the speaker's episodic memory, so that the macrostructure is re-produced, as it were; or else the utterance may emerge as a result of a speaker's strategy to realise a given pragmatic intention. That is, it may not have been fully planned as a whole, but rather in parts, so that the macrostructure is only available at the end of the utterance. This would appear to characterise exploratory talk.

Clearly, the formulation of meaning through speech is a delicate and complex skill. For one thing, as van Dijk & Kintsch suggest, it involves pragmatic selection of an appropriate message to realise intended aims. This might mean selecting an acceptable argument to dissuade someone from a particular course of action. Note that acceptability here is a sub-type of appropriacy, that is, it suggests adaptation to the chosen aims, in the light of current constraints. If the reasons put forward fail, then the speaker might next need to change tack, and suggest an alternative course of action, or finally agree with the interlocutor's plan. In other words, the authors point out that messages have to be selected with skill, in the light of current (as well as episodic)

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knowledge, and the speaker must be prepared to change his intentions in the light of the responses he receives. Presumably, the decisions taken at this level would involve the second and third of Grice's maxims of cooperative behaviour (1975): those of quality and relevance.

At this stage, a second level intervenes in the communication of meaning, which might be termed 'explicitness'. Once a message intention (or semantic macrostructure in van Dijk & Kintsch's terminology) has been initiated or formed, appropriate forms must be selected in order to communicate the message. This may be seen in terms of the remaining two of Grice's maxims, the maxims of quantity and manner. Clarity and economy are cooperative virtues, which a speaker would aim for. Widdowson (1983) suggests that the feature of 'quantity' is related to the speaker's awareness of the degree to which background information and common assumptions are shared. Speakers have to decide the level of explicitness appropriate in order to be understood. The less background knowledge is shared, the more information might be needed if the interlocutor is to understand the message. Background knowledge might include knowledge of the immediate environment, of the locality, of the local customs, of the time of year, of current affairs, of people present or of common acquaintances, or other kinds of episodic or semantic knowledge, of a professional or general nature. It might also, of course, include the language items themselves, names, expressions, jargon, quotations, or indeed lexis. Often we are uncertain just how much information is shared, and sophisticated communicators will be quick to adapt their message if feedback from the hearer indicates that more explicitness is needed.

The point is then that in order to communicate orally, decisions have to be taken by the speaker in the light of the current situation, of the speaker's own objectives, and in the light of what the speaker thinks the hearer will understand. Often, as we saw with monitoring, negotiation of meaning may be overt; often it will be covert. Sometimes the interlocutors will express incomprehension, or check whether they, or the other speaker, have heard or understood correctly (cf. Long, 1981; Varonis & Gass, 1985). Commonly, adjustments of the same kind

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will be made covertly, as speakers pre-select appropriate levels of explicitness in order to conduct their dialogue efficiently and clearly. This final aspect of communication skill is of course a crucial one. We will return to it in the next chapter when we discuss strategies of communication.

3.8 Conclusion

In most of the studies of oral proficiency and development produced over the last 15 years, it has been conventional to describe proficiency in terms of linguistic competence. Thus studies in error analysis (eg. George, 1972; Richards (ed) 1974) and interlanguage (eg. Corder, 1981; Ellis (ed) 1987; Selinker, 1972) have generally attempted to view oral production as a reflection of linguistic knowledge. In a sense, discussion has commonly proceeded as though the linguistic performance of speakers could be used as a kind of brain scan. Production of forms was studied with a view to assembling a copy of the speaker's 'grammar'. This would sometimes give rise to difficulties of analysis because learners are not always consistent in the forms they use, or in the way they use them. Variability has thus been introduced (eg Ellis, 1985; Tarone, 1983) as an explanatory, or at least as a labelling, term.

It is not the intention here to question the validity of such a view of oral production. However, there is little doubt that, with the amount of variation that can occur when users produce language orally or in writing, it is at the very least extraordinarily complex to attempt to describe performance, under a variety of conditions, as isomorphic with the user's 'internal grammar'. As Swan has aptly argued (1987), such an approach condemns us to viewing variability in the performance of any skill, as always being attributable to some fault in our knowledge store. A tennis player who hits the ball out of court thus would have something seriously wrong with his understanding of the game of tennis. We would want to attempt to get to work on his grammar of the game of tennis, to sort out this kink in his knowledge.

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Of course this is not what tennis coaches do: they focus rather on the player's control of his knowledge, that is, they attempt to improve the player's skill in doing what he knows he should do. Bialystok & Sharwood Smith (1985) argue precisely that knowledge is only one part of language proficiency, and that 'control' is a second crucial dimension. In the preceding sections we have outlined a view of language production in which the stress has been placed on the nature of the control which speakers have to exert over their language knowledge if they are to be competent speakers.

In recent years, much emphasis in reading courses has been placed on the importance of developing reading skills, of training foreign language users to use their knowledge of the language - and their knowledge of language - skilfully in order to understand texts. It has been suggested that poor readers in a foreign language are sometimes those who are unskilled in using what they know in order to decipher texts (cf Alderson, 1984; Urquart, 1984). Thus reading courses (eg. Scott, 1981) and research into foreign language reading (eg. Carrell, 1983; Urquart, 1984) have explored the effects of text organisation and of textual cues in facilitating foreign language reading. That is to say, ability to use language knowledge has been studied in relation to specific tasks. It would seem that a similar approach could be applied to the study of oral proficiency.

Thus, instead of attempting to assess learners' oral proficiency purely in terms of the language that he seems to be able to access in general (which would tend to encourage a teaching strategy by which the teacher would largely attempt to increase the amount of language in the learner's memory), it might make sense to view oral proficiency in terms of various task demands. Range and fluency of expression could then be gauged - and taught - in relation to a variety of tasks.

Skill, then, is a dimension of language ability which can usefully be taught and needs to be tested. As such, it represents the coordination of an integrated psycho-motor hierarchy of decisions - including conceptualization - and the physical production of utterances, which

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needs also to be integrated both retrospectively (through the STM) and prospectively (through the goals formulated by the speaker) into the flow of discourse.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the perspective of 'language-as-skill' is sufficient for teaching purposes. It is also necessary to consider how an individual language user finds his own way through the maze of decisions and problems which communication can pose, and crucially, how his experience of language use might enable him to be an effective communicator. That is to say, the language user has to exploit language strategically in order to be successful, and so it is to the subject of oral communication strategies that we turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

4.0 Introduction

Like any other skill, language use does not merely involve the finely-tuned integration of psycho-motor plans capable of being smoothly run off. The learner also needs to be able to use his skill for his own purposes or goals. To use Lunzer's frame of reference (1968), the formal units once learnt - and mastered at the level of psycho-motor control - are then progressively embedded into an increasingly rich complex of strategic controls. Any form - linguistic or other - can be exploited for a variety of goals. A considerable proportion of human learning is concerned not with accumulating formal knowledge, but rather with developing the ability to use that formal knowledge for various ends. The strategic use of language is thus of considerable importance in foreign language education.

Strategies have indeed been studied as a dimension of human behaviour for several decades. Bruner, Goodnow & Austin (1956) use the concept in their Study of Thinking, in which they analyse a recurring number of strategies used in problem-solving. The term is also used in the psychology of learning (eg. Lunzer, 1968; Moray, 1968). It is used to describe ways in which language is processed, perceptually in reading (eg. Goodman, 1967; Carrell, 1983, 1984; Clarke & Nation, 1980) or in listening (Slobin, 1973; Cruttenden, 1977) or both (Bever, 1970; Bialystok, 1979; Clark & Clark, 1977).

Strategies have been identified in studies of social interaction (eg. Duncan & Fiske, 1985). The term has been used in work on first language ability, for example in Craig & Tracy (eds) (1983), McLaughlin (1979), Schenkein (ed) (1978), Tannen 1982, 1984), and Wells, (1981), and in studies of interethnic interaction (Gumperz, 1982).

Finally, strategies have been discussed in relation to language learning, for instance, Frauenfelder & Porquier (1979), Hosenfeld (1976), Naiman, Frohlich, Stern & Todesco (1978), Pickett (1978), Rubin (1981),

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Seliger (1978, ms), Selinker (1972), and Stern (1975). McDonough (1981) includes six different types of strategy in his subject index. Indeed, the term has become a vogue word, so that Seliger (ms) feels it necessary to remark:

to call everything we observe in second language acquisition a strategy divests the term of meaning.

(Seliger, ms:1)

As might be inferred from Seliger's comment, the widespread use of the term can cause confusion, especially in distinguishing and defining different types and sub-types of strategy.

While problems of definitions and distinctions will never be fully resolved, it is no accident that strategies have become a useful concept in discussions of language use and development. For one thing the term introduces a dynamic element into accounts of the way the individual manages his resources. It suggests characteristic differences, not so much of language items, as of behaviour, between people of different stages of learning, different backgrounds and different ages, as well as differences in processing procedures according to the skill that is in question, and the context of use. Clearly, the procedures adopted by a reader in front of a text can differ from those of a listener receiving a spoken message. The reader can scan through the text several times, getting the general idea, and working his way into the details of the argument. The listener on the other hand has to deal with the discourse as it emerges from the speaker, possibly having to intervene for clarification at the appropriate moment if he feels that intervention is necessary. Similarly the writer can be more thorough and systematic in the way he composes his text than can a speaker, who, however much he plans, is constrained by the limitations of attention span and of short term memory of both his listener and himself. There can then be strategic differences between the ways the different skills are handled.

A further reason for studying strategies is that they allow for the fact that behaviour is not fixed once it is acquired, but can be

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translated into other terms or formats in order to permit more efficient performance. Bruner (1966) illustrates this by showing how information about flights between five towns can be represented by a random list; an alphabetically ordered list; or by diagrams. However, even within the use of a single set of symbols - say numbers - a similar variety of possible strategies can be available to the user. For example, consider the possible strategies for multiplying three by five. These might include counting out sets of fives, and then, on reaching three sets, counting up the individual items to compute the total. Another procedure would involve taking the three sets of five, and then totalling up $5 + 5 + 5$. A further procedure might involve going through the five times table. And a final procedure might be to produce the answer by syntagmatic association, without having to proceed through the paradigm. Thus the knowledge of $3 \times 5 = 15$ is presented in one of a variety of forms, which implies procedure for effecting similar calculations with other figures. As the individual becomes more adept at managing the initial procedure, he can discover shortcuts which enable him to produce the result more efficiently.

Searle (1984) comments similarly that there are different ways of parking a car. His son reverses from a position alongside the car parked in front of the space, and turns the steering wheel when his front wheels are level with the rear wheels of the parked car. Other drivers align themselves with the pavement through the rear window, while still others use the rear offside wing of the parked car as a reference point at the major stages of the manoeuvre. Searle's point is that the externally observable behaviour of the drivers, whatever strategy they use, is the same. The path of the car is the same, the goal and the end-point is the same. However the mental operation is different. The difference is in the strategy used. The implications of this for the learning as well as for the use of languages is not to be ignored.

Searle's account describes different ways in which a particular problem can be computed by different individuals in order to reach a solution, although the outward behaviour remains the same. In other words,

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viewing behaviour as strategic implies that there is more than one way of handling any one task. Strategies also however involve not just the strategically preferred internal representation of the behaviour selected by the individual, but also the ways in which a piece of behaviour or knowledge can be reused to serve other purposes. Lunzer offers the example of the way in which a bird will subsume feeding within a more complex hierarchy of goals, such as feeding in difficult circumstances; feeding from a food dispenser; feeding from a human; and feeding in order to feed the chicks. In language learning terms, this is similar to the way in which learners have to learn various strategic uses of a single piece of language.

It is clear that people can communicate in a language in manifestly different ways while dealing with essentially similar tasks. The divorce between grammatical form and discourse function is partly evidence of this. In a sense then at a strategic level of language use, the learner is involved in restructuring the potential uses of language (McLaughlin, 1987), and the possible textures of discourse that can function for given ends.

However, it is also clear that although a variety of ways of dealing with specific communication tasks are available to speakers, there are still a number of 'canonical' styles which arise through the persuasive force of social agencies. Such influences, particularly in the first language, may be further weighted by group affiliation (Giles & Smith, 1979). In the second language this factor may be expected to vary in degree, according to the circumstances of acquisition (for example, learning in the L2 environment, on a long or short term basis, as opposed to learning in the foreign language classroom in the L1 environment). Most likely, however, the L2 items in all but long term residents in the L2 environment will be socially relatively unmarked for the learner (McLaughlin, 1987). In spite of this, a view of learning which holds that routines are built up around particular recurrent constellations of ideational and interactional features would tend to predict that the foreign language learner will also be likely to assemble 'canonical styles' around these recurring complexes (cf.

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Bruner, 1983). As Widdowson (1983) argues, strategic (or in his terms, 'procedural') exploration into the language, where successful, can become conventionalised into routine sequences. Peters (1983) suggests along similar lines that felicitous chunks of language once hit upon by the speaker can be stored ready for re-use on another similar occasion.

Language then is gradually subsumed into higher structures, through varied experiences of drawing on it for strategic purposes. Clearly, however, L1 speakers have not only a higher degree of automation, but perhaps more significantly the size of the units used by L1 speakers is much larger (compare the way in which a child learning to read similarly operates with smaller units of perception, operating word for word rather than phrase by phrase). Also, of course, the L1 speaker has a wider range of units to draw from. This has as one logical consequence the fact that the L2 learner will have more problems of retrieval than the L1 speaker, not only because retrieval is in any case more difficult; but also because conscious retrieval is likely to occur more frequently, and when it does occur, the speaker is likely to have a smaller range of choice of item. In such cases, the speaker is therefore more reliant on techniques ('strategies') for putting his knowledge to the widest possible use and for maintaining the flow of the conversation.

There are various ways in which the speaker can deploy language strategically. For instance, he can select language items, or sequence them specially so as to express particular interpersonal or ideational meanings. Thus he might hit upon various appropriate kinds of greeting, or ways of joking, or of expressing an opinion. Or again, as Tracy & Moran (1983) suggest, the speaker can follow topics - his own, or those of other people - by using various devices: he can change the subject explicitly, he can extend the original subject; he can change the subject implicitly by a variety of devices, such as talking to the same idea; to the same moral; to the same 'script'; or by claiming linkage explicitly, although the nature of the link remains unclear. A further strategic aspect of language production is the way the speaker structures his turns so as to give himself time in which to handle the

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interaction (for instance so as to register fully what his the previous speaker has said before preparing a reply) without losing the attention of his interlocutor (cf. Edmondson, 1981).

These strategies we will return to consider further later in this chapter. One particular strategic aspect of language production can involve the speaker in using a certain number of devices to ensure that he is being understood, that he is speaking at the right level of explicitness (cf. Widdowson, 1983), to clarify his meaning (Varonis & Gass, 1985) or to express himself where he is unsure of the appropriate language item to use (eg Færch & Kasper, 1983). This last area of language proficiency has been described as consisting specifically of compensatory strategies (Canale, 1983), insofar as they involve devices to overcome suspected language gaps, and it is on these that much of the work on communication strategies has been carried out. We will now consider the main types of strategy that have been discussed in these studies, and the kind of framework that they imply. We will want to suggest that they provide a very limited insight into strategies of oral communication, and that in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the way language is strategically used in communication tasks, a wider range of strategies might need to be considered.

4.1 Studies of compensatory strategies

There are several taxonomies of strategies of communication, and in the context of the present study it is not possible to do justice to all of them. In the interests of clarity therefore we will concentrate mainly on two approaches. We will start by discussing the account of Færch & Kasper (1983b) since theirs is one of the most comprehensive taxonomies, and therefore provides a useful context for discussing the major distinctions made, as well as the contributions of other writers. We will then consider a later approach, that of Paribakht (1985). We will discuss some problems of definition and analysis of the strategies identified, and suggest some gaps in the frameworks that have been suggested so far.

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4.2 Færch & Kasper's approach

Færch & Kasper adopt a subjectivist account of communication strategies. They attempt to reconstruct the decisions taken by the speaker/learner, who, in the light of a current utterance plan, assesses his available language resources, and the degree to which he can rely on them. On this point Færch & Kasper's approach has been distinguished from that of Tarone (1983) on the grounds that Tarone allows for the possibility of the speaker using similar strategies in the belief that the listener lacks the knowledge of the necessary terms. Tarone's approach thus allows for 'interactive' use of compensatory strategies, as well as those arising out of the speaker's assessment of his own resources.

Communication strategies are potentially conscious, and are problem-oriented. The strategies come into play once the speaker decides that his resources are inadequate, or under insufficient control. When this occurs, it produces a kind of planning 'loop': one plan is set up, its realisation is found to be problematic so some kind of sub-plan is initiated as a response to the initial plan. Færch & Kasper consider two different ways in which this can occur, which they suggest represent two different types of communication strategy: reduction strategies; and achievement strategies.

Reduction strategies involve recasting the planned utterance so that it uses or communicates less than the speaker originally intended. Reduction may be formal or functional. Formal reduction involves strategies aimed at avoiding specific problems of form. This assumes that the speaker is using fewer of the forms than he in fact knows. This may in turn be motivated either by a desire to be correct in one's use of language, and therefore to avoid running the risk of making an error; or alternatively, it can arise from a desire to avoid slowing down performance in order to produce the item, that is, in order to maintain fluency. Clearly, this can give rise to a variety of results. In one case, the speaker may simply end up using items which are perfectly acceptable, but at the risk of monotony. In another, the speaker may have to embark on a lot of work to phrase his thoughts in

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an alternative manner; he may abruptly steer off in another direction to avoid the topic, or else indulge in a conversational device, such as asking the question back to the questioner, to avoid having to find a reply. The problems giving rise to any of these strategies may be phonological; morphological (involving the ability to produce syntagmatically appropriate forms); syntactic (involving the ability to execute conditioned sequences); lexical (involving concepts which the speaker may be unhappy to handle).

The notion of formal reduction does not imply any particular communicative result: the strategy may or may not result in the speaker succeeding in saying what he wanted to say (for instance he could use a metaphor or various figures of speech). Consequently, Færch & Kasper situate formal reduction as procedurally prior to functional reduction or achievement strategies. If the speaker proceeds to communicate his original message successfully through some alternative choice of expression, then there has been no communicative reduction. Instead, in substituting for the forms avoided, the speaker then engages in 'achievement' strategies. If on the other hand, the speaker communicates less than was intended in his original message, he is presumed to have engaged in a 'functional reduction' strategy.

Functional reduction strategies can be sensitive to type of interaction; mode of interaction (such as degree of politeness); or propositional content. In the first case the speaker may not succeed in getting done what he wanted; in the second, he may appear less polite than he wished; and in the third he may simply have said less on the topic than he was capable of. In relation to the topic, the speaker may avoid the topic; the speaker may reduce the content of what he wished to say, by being less specific than he intended; and the speaker may abandon the topic. It is not clear from Færch & Kasper's account whether these three types of strategy cover actional and modal aspects of the message.

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Finally, if the speaker does manage to convey the message he intended, then he will have engaged in 'achievement' strategies. According to Færch & Kasper, these include the following:

- Code switching
- Interlingual transfer: foreignising
 - literal translation
- Inter-/intralingual transfer (hypothesising the scope of an L2 rule on the basis of L1)
- Interlanguage strategies: generalization
 - paraphrase
 - word coinage
 - restructuring
- Cooperation strategies
- Non-linguistic strategies
- Retrieval strategies

The framework is intended to view the possibilities from the point of view of the speaker, so that achievement strategies are those the speaker believes will convey his intended message; formal reduction strategies only operate on what the learner knows, so that if, for instance he encounters a gap (what Váradi calls a 'hiatus' (1983:81)) then he may engage in functional reduction or achievement strategies in order to negotiate the gap, but he cannot then engage in formal reduction, since there is nothing for him to reduce.

What Færch & Kasper are concerned to do is provide an account of what can go on in the way the learner processes his system, rather than a criterion for identifying types of strategy, and indeed they fail to achieve this latter aim, since an outsider is in no position to decide when a learner is reducing and when he is not; when he is engaging in an achievement strategy (even though he has in fact reduced his meaning); or alternatively when he believes he has engaged in a functional reduction strategy or semantic avoidance, even though it may turn out that, unbeknown either to him or to his interlocutor, he has conveyed precisely the meaning he originally intended.

Almost all the categories used by Færch & Kasper are common in the literature. For example, the term 'avoidance' occurs in Blum-Kulka &

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Levenston (1983), Corder (1983), Tarone (1980, 1983), Tarone, Cohen & Dumas (1983). 'Generalisation' is a term used by Váradi (1983) to refer to the use of a lexical item which is more general and less specific than the one needed. 'Paraphrase' refers to the expression of a concept without loss of meaning using one or more words, including the use of a hyponymous term to provide an example of the intended concept. Blum-Kulka & Levenston (1983), Váradi (1983) use the term to label a precise use of alternative words to express an idea. Tarone, Cohen & Dumas (1983) use the term in the same sense, but also extend it slightly to cover less precise, more cumbersome rephrasings (termed 'circumlocutions' by other writers). Bialystok refers to the use of definitions in place of the required lexical item as 'description'. Similar equivalences and overlapping of terms occurs for the majority of strategies identified by the various writers (see table 4.1 for a tabular comparison of the different taxonomies). Although categories such as these could be described as 'lexico-semantic' strategies, being defined in terms of the kind of substitute message which the speaker attempts to formulate, the majority of the strategies identified in these studies tend to be categorised according to the interlanguage (or language learning) processes by which specific language forms are hypothesised by the speaker, be it as part of his ongoing hypotheses about the target language, or in order to formulate a specific message (ie. either as a nonce hypothesis, or as a reflection of a more long term state of the learner's construct of the language).

Having looked at Færch & Kasper's approach, we now attempt a brief evaluation.

4.3 Discussion of Færch & Kasper's approach

Basically, Færch & Kasper's account has all the insight, and an accompanying lack of testability which often characterises introspective process-oriented accounts of language use (cf. Cohen, 1983; Seliger, 1983). On the positive side, the approach suggests much which would be highly compatible with a skill-based view of oral production. By viewing communication strategies as alterations made to

(Papers in French & Kasper (eds) 1983)

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initial utterance plans, the authors situate communication strategies as if they were grafted so to speak onto normal (ie. L1) processing. In taking this view, they identify an aspect of language production which personal experience suggests must be particularly characteristic of second language use. The emphasis on the conscious, problem oriented nature of communication strategies suggests that these are in large part what have been called 'controlled' processes (Bialystok & Sharwood Smith, 1985; McLaughlin, 1987), and that as the language learner becomes more proficient, such processes can gradually become more automatized. Nevertheless there are problems in the categories which the authors choose to identify.

There are four main criteria which could be used to assess a framework of this type. Firstly, does the framework account for all the phenomena that it is intended to describe; secondly, does the framework provide an adequate description and/or explanation of the phenomena; thirdly, is the accuracy of the framework testable; and fourthly, does the framework account for all the phenomena that it might be expected to describe. The first question judges the framework in its own terms; the second, in terms of the account of language processing that it proposes; the third, in terms of whether it can be empirically tested so as to be improved; and the fourth in terms of whether the objectives it sets itself are themselves adequate.

In terms of accounting for the phenomena that it is intended to describe, Færch & Kasper's account can be seen as deficient. For instance, the kinds of paraphrase or semantic strategies identified as 'interlanguage strategies' are plainly limited: speakers do not only generalise using superordinates, they may do this in various ways. Instead of generalising, they will also try to find semantically contiguous items which can function pragmatically as synonyms.

As regards whether the description is adequate, one crucial question is whether the categories are clear, and can be clearly attributed. Here some examples might be useful. Code switching for example should cause no problems:

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I like the ambience

The above example with French pronunciation is presumably a straight case of code switching. However, if the pronunciation is anglicized, then the strategy is one of foreignizing, which comes under 'interlingual transfer'. But then, so too would the following:

I am sorry we didn't grip hands.

since 'grip' would be a translation of 'serrer'. It might be thought curious that where the speaker selects his item from L1 but merely applies L2 phonology to it he is engaging in the same strategy as when he selects his L1 item and translates it into the L2. After all, whereas in the first case only synonymous cognates will emerge successfully from the strategy, in the case of literal translation the L2 learner is increasing his chances of success since near synonymy exists more frequently if both cognates and non-cognates are used, than if only cognates are used. Psycholinguistically however, the processing procedures in the two cases are clearly distinct.

Furthermore, in the case of literal translation the learner is basing his strategy on the hypothesis that where an L1 and an L2 term have been synonymous, or distributionally and functionally equivalent in the past, this is likely to occur again in the future. Where this involves translating idiomatic expressions or compound nouns, of course, the chances of success are slim. However, this same strategy can go further in the discovery of the distributional differences between terms which share some semantic similarities. One might therefore wonder whether there are any grounds for separating code switching from the two kinds of interlingual transfer. Not only do the procedures involved in the last two strategies differ, but it could be claimed that foreignizing is equidistant in some sense from both literal translation and code switching.

Further there is the question of the linguistic scope of some of the strategies. For instance, is the category of literal translation

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intended to embrace the use of function words, such as when a French speaker says 'He is come down' using is for est, or else produces the book of Jack (Tarone et al, 1983 6). The question is whether there are any other data which could be included under the category, and whether they would be rightly or wrongly included. Similar questions may be raised concerning the category of inter/intra-lingual transfer. If this involves the use of the L2 item or inflection according to L1 criteria of distribution, what is there to distinguish it from 'literal translation'? Take, for instance, the example given by the authors. A Danish learner may produce swimmed because the cognate item in Danish inflects regularly in the simple past. Yet, if it is the case that Danish 'de' = English 'ed', how is it possible to say that this is not a case of translation of de to ed, ie. a member of another category. The problem here of course is that we are dealing with products which can result from different processes. Either the processes themselves have to be reliably identifiable, or else the strategies will have to be defined in linguistic terms.

A similar ambiguity affects Færch & Kasper's category of interlanguage strategies. These consist of four types: 'generalisation'; 'paraphrase'; 'word coinage'; 'restructuring'. An immediate problem with these categories is that they are not logical alternatives. A general term can be used in a paraphrase along with word coinage, and the whole can be interrupted and restructured when the speaker detects a problem. Furthermore, the four strategies have distinct status. Word coinage is a category which resembles 'foreignising' in that both are strategies for lexical deduction or inferencing. 'Restructuring' is not a specific meaning- or form-oriented strategy, but rather a speech processing strategy. 'Generalisation' and 'paraphrase', on the other hand, are semantic or schematically-oriented strategies: they provide ways in which speakers may exploit semantic or schematic knowledge in order to communicate a given meaning. These two categories in turn lack adequate definition, and this might be worth discussing briefly.

Whereas 'generalisation' involves use of a more general term, 'paraphrase' consists of the use of several words as a substitute. Such

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a phrase may include a superordinate, but it might consist of a hyponymous term. In either case, paraphrase might include additional modification. However, use of a hyponymous term is not included under 'generalisation'. Thus the following utterances would presumably be classified differently:

1. We have an animal.
2. We have a tabby.

If the speaker was intending to use the word 'cat', then in the first case he will have used a superordinate, which would be an instance of 'generalisation'. In the second case, according to Færch & Kasper's scheme of things, he would be using a form of 'paraphrase'. It is not in any way clear, however, that what the learner is doing is psychologically different: he is possibly merely choosing a replacement term from within a schematic or lexical hierarchy. The distinction being invoked apparently is whether the speaker moves up or down the hierarchy. However, it would appear that the categories are not so clear, since 'paraphrase' also involves the use of some further form of modification. This complicates analysis somewhat since the following examples are possible:

3. We have a furry animal with a tail.
4. We have a tabby.

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In 3), the speaker uses a general term with a periphrastic postmodifying phrase. In 4) he uses a hyponymous term without any genuine paraphrase. These categories are thus not satisfactory, as a means of analysing either the product or the process.

Similar criticisms can be made of the status of the category 'word coinage'. On the one hand accounts of the process seem to be very similar to those of the other strategies (eg. the conceptual semantic aspect of 'word coinage' resembles those involved in paraphrase and generalisation, see Bialystok, 1983: 107). On the other hand, a crucial feature of 'word coinage' is that it describes a heuristic procedure for generating a hypothetical lexical item composed of one or more L2 morphemes. The possible result could be accounted for through two binary axes, according to whether the resulting coinage is appropriate (ie comprehensible) or in fact existing in the L2. For instance:

	existing	non-existent
unsuccessful	souffleuse*	heurot*
successful	calefação	rounding**

(*from Bialystok, 1983; ** from Færch & Kasper, 1983)

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What is interesting is that the heuristic dimension of this so-called L2 strategy resembles quite closely the processes involved in what Færch & Kasper call the 'L1 strategies' of language switching, foreignizing and literal translation, in the sense that they involve attempts to predict unknown words, or possibly to recover previously encountered vocabulary, on the basis of known morphology. In all four strategies, the speaker operates at lexical level and may produce one of four results:

- 1 - an existing but inappropriate word which might confuse the listener (cf Bialystok, 1983: 107)
- 2 - a non-existent and opaque neologism
- 3 - an existing and appropriate word (possibly the target item)
- 4 - a non-existent but comprehensible item

Clearly, these are not strictly binary, but rather scalar (cf Angenot, 1981; Bolinger, 1971). While on the one hand appropriacy is a highly relative term, dependent as much on the addressee and his ability to comprehend, as on the skill of the speaker and his particular choice of words, on the other hand the very existence of an item is equally a matter of degree: neologism can appear highly familiar, and the doubt, familiar to linguistics who have attempted to assess the acceptability of utterances, as to whether they have ever in fact heard a given item in a particular use (cf. Bolinger, 1971) is evidence that attestation itself is not always clear cut.

It appears, then that word coinage might have something in common with lexical L1 borrowing strategies. Similarly, we find that 'restructuring' also occurs in L1 (cf Hockett, 1967; Laver, 1970). However, restructuring can occur at all levels of linguistic processing. The difficulty of applying the classification system is apparent with one of their own examples:

5. my parents has I have four elder sisters
(Færch & Kasper, 1983:50)

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In this case, the authors claim that the speaker is using a strategy to communicate the idea 'daughter'. However, this may not in fact be the case. It is not clear to begin with whether the speaker is using the entire utterance as a strategy for fishing out the concept 'daughter', or whether the speaker is in fact speaking about his family. In the former case, the initial start 'my parents' would already be seen as the beginning of one strategic move, which itself was restructured. In the latter case, it is still not clear whether the utterance has been changed because the speaker lacks the word 'daughter', or because the speaker finds it more natural to describe his/her siblings in relation to himself rather than in relation to his parents. In any case, the notion of restructuring is not totally satisfactory since it could presumably occur 'covertly' before a plan has begun to be implemented.

It is of course easy to query categories unconstructively. However, two main criticisms would appear to arise out of this discussion, and these are as follows. Firstly, the approach adopted by Færch & Kasper in principle limits the discussion of strategies to those which involve the use of an additional compensatory processing 'loop' which enable the speaker to amend his plans in some way. Although it is undoubtedly psychologically realistic to postulate such a loop, this is unlikely to be the only kind of strategy used by speakers. After all, many of the subcategories of communication strategy (eg. word coinage, paraphrase) are perfectly normal means of expression in their own right. For example, paraphrase may be used to summarise or clarify a point (cf 'gist' and 'upshot' formulations, discussed for example by Thomas, 1984; Widdowson, 1983, 1984). The processes involved in 'word coinage' or 'generalisation' need not be activated by embarking upon a loop: such strategies can be deployed as part of the process of the selection of linguistic expression. In addition, it must be possible to use these strategies in scanning ahead and monitoring potential expressions before they are structured (thus preempting the need for 'restructuring'). This presumably is what Fillmore (1979) refers to in one of the types of fluency which he describes. It is also this ability which can give rise to innovative use of language.

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The second point is that the types of strategies which Færch & Kasper identify - quite apart from the problems of definition they cause - are not all of the same status. In particular it would seem worth distinguishing between what might be labelled 'formal' or 'symbolising strategies', and what we might call 'schematic strategies'. 'Formal' (or 'symbolising') strategies are strategies, or clusters of strategies, which can be used as a heuristic to generate potentially acceptable language items on the basis of the speaker's knowledge of L1 and L2 morphology. The outcome might be deviant, conventional, or highly creative.

'Schematic' strategies on the other hand are not aimed at generating valid linguistic symbols so much as exploiting schematic knowledge potentially shared by the interlocutor in order to convey the concept. These strategies (including paraphrase and the use of lexical sets), it might be suggested, are used to do two things: firstly they are used to select an appropriate message; secondly, they control the level of explicitness which a speaker will use to express his message. Thus in the case of 'formal' strategies what the speaker is concerned with is generating an appropriate lexical item. In the case of 'schematic' strategies, the speaker is less concerned with finding the right word, and instead is preoccupied with 'getting the idea across'. In either case, the use of the strategy might be more or less successful. An approach of this kind would subcategorise achievement strategies in some way.

A framework which has followed this direction in studying communication strategies is that of Paribakht (1985). We will now briefly consider her approach.

4.4 Paribakht's approach

Paribakht (1985) proposes a taxonomy of strategies which enumerates the principal schematic strategies that can be used. These are divided into four main kinds: linguistic, contextual, conceptual, and mime. Linguistic strategies mainly account for the lexical relations which

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can be exploited in order to communicate a given concept (eg superordinateness, or the description of some quality of the target item). These generally use some form of paraphrase. Linguistic strategies may replace, or talk about, the problematic concept using one of the following: semantic contiguity; circumlocution; or metalinguistic clues.

Contextual strategies on the other hand exploit collocational knowledge: they focus more on the kinds of context in which the target item would occur than on ways in which it could be defined, although often contextual strategies consist of providing a definition, merely leaving a blank for the target word. The third kind of strategy identified by Paribakht are conceptual strategies and these attempt to convey the concept through a definition, an exemplification or through a symbolic image (eg a peacock for 'pride'). Thus overall the analysis is less concerned with accounting for the ways in which words can be generated (through borrowing, or lexical creation strategies), and more with the kinds of meanings which speakers can attempt to express in order to convey a target concept.

While hypothesis-forming strategies for generating substitute lexical items are undoubtedly an important kind of communication strategy, in many respects Paribakht's account provides a more satisfactory description of the kinds of message which speakers can use in order to convey lexical meanings. It also provides a list of strategies which may be used in ordinary L1 communication. That is, communicating the meaning of a word by use of a phrase or longer utterance is in fact an instance of normal communication. Commonly, accounts of compensatory communication strategies tend to give the impression that the strategies merely serve to fill the gap that occurs whenever a word is problematic. The planning 'loop' which we have described in the discussion of Færch & Kasper's study is after all just one kind of such loops: similar loops may occur as ideas are expressed and reformulated with the intention of attaining greater clarity.

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A second and related point is that many studies of communication strategies give the impression that the assembly of utterances themselves is not problematic, and that problems only arise when gaps occur. Such studies however are obliged to concede that paraphrases can function strategically. Indeed, as Paribakht shows, entire sequences of utterances can be used merely to convey the meaning of a single word. In which case what counts is not so much the lexical relations between a word and its improvised substitute, as the nature of the locutionary force of utterances (eg as exemplifications, generalisations, various types of description, etc). Such utterances can then be used either as elements of base plans for speakers, or alternatively as plans embedded in loops in the planning process, and which are introduced in order to solve communication problems which may arise. At the same time, substitution must also be possible at lexico-syntactic level as an utterance is being produced in real time. At a given point in an utterance one may wish to say that an observation is particularly 'perceptive', but on reaching the point of insertion of the predicative adjective, fail to access the word 'perceptive', and so use 'incisive', or 'trenchant', 'perspicuous' or 'sharp', or merely 'intelligent' instead. Thus strategies can be used at various levels of the planning hierarchy.

In conclusion, then, problematicity does not only occur for speakers at points where they are uncertain of the appropriate target item. It arises whenever speakers have to decide how to express themselves in relation to a particular intention. What we would argue here is that there is a whole range of communication problems which can be resolved by strategic decisions on the part of the speaker. They involve decisions about what message to communicate and how to communicate it. Indeed, Færch & Kasper's account provides a basis for making this distinction through the planning cycle which they propose, as well as through the possible message-reduction or achievement decisions which they envisage speakers as making. On the other hand, by building into the model a fuller account of ways in which particular messages may be conveyed, it may be possible to construct a more comprehensive summary

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of the communication strategies that speakers can draw upon in oral interaction.

What in effect is needed is a framework which might enable oral production skills to be described at varying levels of strategic decision-making, and this is the topic of the next section.

4.5 Communication strategies - an alternative view

The view of communication strategies that we have been discussing so far focusses essentially on what have been called 'compensatory' strategies (Faerch & Kasper, 1983), that is, those used to assemble language which will bridge a putative linguistic gap in the speaker's knowledge. Paribakht's inventory is consistent in the choice of unit which it describes, identifying a set of conceptual strategies of discourse, in which the crucial element is the message type produced, rather than the way language forms are individually generated (which is the focus of most of the studies in Faerch & Kasper (ed), 1983). In general, however, all these studies aim primarily to describe ways of compensating for language handicaps. That is, the strategies in question are designed to achieve communication in a particular set of circumstances: they constitute a loop which a speaker may engage in order to substitute an expression for one he believes he lacks.

Now clearly, such strategies are useful, and not only to learners. We are often, even in our first languages, describing phenomena or ideas which do not have a conventional signifier. The use of paraphrase and make-shift expressions is a resource commonly needed. However, Paribakht's inventory of features is only strategic in so far as the the features that she identifies can be used with a particular type of routine situation, to solve a routine problem. Descriptions of the form or function of objects are only strategic in Paribakht's sense to the extent that they are messages which may be used in order to communicate something other than the descriptions that they provide. They are descriptions which function as signifiers, not as descriptions. They only have anything in common with miming, for example, to the

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extent that miming may also be used referentially. Where miming may be used in order to communicate without waking someone, miming and functional verbal descriptions strategically have nothing in common. Thus these different types and forms of message all occur with the same double purpose of being understood as messages and as signifiers. Such strategic re-use of language is important for learners since learners often lack conventional signifiers. The situation often occurs in which they have to paraphrase their meanings.

However, learners, like other speakers, also have to develop strategies for handling a wide variety of other communication problems, not just those arising from a lack of language items. Such problems include the expression of ideas for which no specific word exists in the target language; the organisation of extended discourse, either individually or jointly with other speakers; establishing mutual understanding whatever the topic under discussion; the development of coherence from one utterance to the next; and the accessing and execution of language resources in real time. The view that we wish to adopt in the present study is that learners' communication skills can develop in large part to the extent that they elaborate strategies for managing these various communicative demands. The development of such strategies is more likely in so far as these demands occur routinely. Thus compensatory strategies, for instance, are developed as options which a speaker can exploit within the context of a routinely occurring problem, that of managing without the normal word. However, this is just one kind of routine problem which can arise. A variety of kinds of interaction problem arise routinely in daily life, and indeed, first language acquisition may be seen as deeply embedded in a range of such routines.

Bruner (1983) describes how children learn language from around 9 months of age by first learning routines. In these routines, a limited set of exponents occur with an even more limited set of functions. For instance, a puppet is presented, then it is hidden, and finally it is brought back into the child's field of vision. Each stage is marked by some form of verbalisation. Substages are associated with each major stage, and these too are signalled by some utterance. The language

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forms, and their meanings, are thus being learnt within an interpersonal routine. As the child becomes familiar with the words, Bruner notes that the mother becomes linguistically demanding, holding back the next stage of the routine until the child has verbalised (It is interesting to note that a cognitive psychologist such as Bruner attributes importance to such a phenomenon, which, in some respects, closely resembles the 'reinforcement' phase of the behaviourist account of the learning cycle.)

What concerns us here is the fact that language is learnt in connection with some schematic knowledge. Within the context of the ideational, interpersonal and episodic knowledge accumulated through the interactions, the child learns to use language productively. In a similar, although possibly far more abstract and complex manner, the non-native learner will handle a variety of kinds of routine, and for each he will find ways in which he can strategically manage the problems that occur. The term 'routine' here encapsulates far more than context: it embraces the enactment of the entire task, including the thought processes required to complete it. We shall now look briefly at some of the types of routine that have been recognised.

4.5.1 Communication routines

Brown & Yule (1983b) suggest that communication can be of two types: 'transactional' and 'interactional'. 'Transactional' communication places greater emphasis on the information content and less on the participation rights of the interlocutors, whereas interactional communication is more concerned with managing the relations between the participants. The reason for making this distinction is that the focus of the discourse, and indeed of the information content, is different in each case. In transactional discourse the 'ideational', or information, content is central, and the way this is typically structured affects the structure of the discourse. On the other hand, in 'interactional' discourse it is the way 'interpersonal' relations are structured which is more influential. The degree to which these two kinds of structuring are conventional suggests that they are manifestations of two kinds of routine, ideational and interpersonal.

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Ideational routines are related to the communication of certain types of information content, while interpersonal routines are those which typify the ways in which certain interactions are typically organised. We will look briefly at these two types of routine.

Interpersonal routines are commonly recurring sequences of turn types, which have been called 'scripts', and which might be seen as routinised procedures for interactions. Various examples can be given, such as Schank & Abelson's well-known restaurant script (1977); Widdowson's script of the man wishing to buy a sandwich in the street (1984a); or the script involved in buying a train ticket. Service encounters are typical examples: they are highly structured, so that the nature of what a member of the public should say - if not the actual message - is largely predetermined at various stages of many such encounters. In a similar manner, social encounters tend to follow certain characteristic sequences. For instance, invitations, apologies, requests, welcoming and farewell routines, and the beginning and ending of telephone conversations all tend to be organised in predictable ways. The rules are not inflexible, but if some prototypical sequences are not followed, this can cause surprise to either participant, and necessitate additional work to maintain communication.

Interpersonal routines also involve a certain number of more general conventions which will be commonly followed. For example, interpersonal considerations have the effect that speakers will take turns at speaking; in informal discourse turns will tend to be short (Brown & Yule, 1983b); topics in social discourse will be dealt with incidentally rather than at length (Tracy & Moran, 1983). It may even be that the amount of speech - and silence - which speakers tend to produce in given circumstances is influenced by cultural norms. Thus the ability to handle many speech situations effectively may depend to a degree on the speaker's familiarity with the use of the language in a given routine. The present writer recalls a feeling of progress when, using a foreign language, he first managed to elicit laughter from an unknown telephone interlocutor. It had taken some time to develop sufficient familiarity with the use of the language over the telephone to be able

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to produce the (relatively anodyne) joke. Language has to be mobilised in order to handle a variety of different, and sometimes conflicting, requirements, such as the speaker's integrity and independence, as well as those of his interlocutor (Widdowson, 1983). Managing the telephone routine is one such instance (other examples of multiple demands on human processing are discussed in McClelland, Rumelhart & Hinton, 1986). It is in this sense that language strategies have to be developed in a wide range of typical interaction routines.

Interactional routines are not the only kind of routine which are important: ideational routines also have a significant role. These are routines which occur in the organisation and presentation of specific types of information content. That is, various types of discourse (what van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) have called 'macrostructures') will be characteristically organised in canonical patterns. Thus, ideational routines include discourse structures, such as narration, instruction, description or process descriptions (cf Longacre, 1983 for a similar account). Narratives, for example, are typically organised in one of a limited number of ways (Brown & Yule, 1983b; White, 1979). Like other routines, they are based on familiar constellations of information schemata, and conventional ways of organising them and of representing how the world is. Thus they typically involve computing the different predicates attributed to the various agents; checking on the identity of the different agents referred to at the successive stages of the narration; and clarifying the order and relative times of those stages, where this is significant. Similarly, descriptions, instructions and accounts of processes involve the presence or absence of specific reference to these various features. Indeed, Longacre (1983) suggests that these four discourse types can be differentiated according to whether sequencing and agent are important.

Van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) provide a list of certain other organising conventions that speakers will tend to adopt when producing language. These include such patterns as following 'the natural order of events, processes and actions, unless other constraints necessitate a different order'; following an order which is 'from more general to more

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particular, from higher to lower, from sets to elements, from wholes to parts'; specifying 'some minimal description of discourse individuals and then the additional properties or relations of these individuals'; following the presuppositional structure of the discourse; and marking deviations from any of these orders explicitly (1983: 275-6).

A final crucial level of strategic decision-making may be termed the problem of 'explicitness'. Given that speakers need to refer to the schematic knowledge which they believe they share with their interlocutors, speakers have to develop the skill to express themselves at an appropriate level of explicitness for their interlocutors. Where a speaker's beliefs are wrong, his interlocutors may signal this, enabling him to adjust his message. When learning to give directions, language learners who are asked to reply to a question such as 'Where is the beach?', when the beach is in sight of the classroom, will often provide a full and intricate step-by-step explanation of how to manoeuvre oneself from classroom to beach, instead of drawing the interlocutor's attention to the beach with the phrase 'Over there'. Alternatively, a response to the same question asked by a blind man might require more detail. In other words, like other speakers, learners have to select an appropriate level of explicitness in order to achieve satisfactory communication. This may involve composing one's utterance in the light of a wide variety of knowledge which may be familiar to one's interlocutor.

Widdowson (1983) provides a neat illustration of this point, in the following example of someone describing where he lives:

You know St Mary's. Well, I live in the street on the other side of the graveyard. Number 12. It has a green gate.

(Widdowson, 1983:42)

This utterance assumes that the listener realises that churches are often named after saints, that churches have graveyards, and that houses have numbers and frequently have gardens, which in turn commonly have gates. In other words, the utterance assumes a certain

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amount of schematic knowledge, possibly accumulated from experience of life in Britain. In communicating this, and in providing street directions, the speaker is strategically using various kinds of routine knowledge. However, a further and more general type of strategy can come into play, here as in any other type of utterance, should the listener not have the necessary schematic knowledge about British buildings. For he will then find the discourse opaque, signal this in some way, and the speaker will then provide a more explicit account. At the same time, the speaker could hardly assume that everyone he speaks to lacks such background information. Thus, the level of explicitness settled on by a speaker will depend partly on the topic of conversation, and partly on who the interlocutors are. The point here is that language has to be selected in terms not just of the speaker's goals, but also in terms of what he believes his interlocutors know.

So given the importance of schematic knowledge in communication, if learners, can associate their use of language with routines of some kind, this is likely to facilitate communication. Absence of routine or of shared schematic knowledge leaves the speaker with an enormous amount of information to communicate in order to be understood. Working within a routine, on the other hand, enables the speaker to select language which will be effective. Part of the initial difficulty of managing in a foreign language may be due to a lack of skill in exploiting various kinds of routine and schematic knowledge, or to the fact that there can be differences in the routines that occur in various cultures.

To summarise so far, the point we wish to make here is that in language use, speakers negotiate many aspects of their communication. They do this strategically in relation to various familiar routines which they share, or assume they share, with their interlocutors. By developing familiarity with the macrostructures of discourse, speakers can become skilled in using language while simultaneously doing other things, and computing their progress through the tasks. In addition, use of language in such routines involves using language in order to structure the tasks, and to signal what has to be done and what has

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already been done. Thus, specific messages produced in the context of tasks are visualised here as being planned on the basis of conventional knowledge about the nature of oral routines, as well as knowledge of the state of the discourse. In effect, it is an underlying assumption of this study that strategic skill is impossible without reference to schematic frames of reference. As van Dijk & Kintsch put it:

Also characteristic for a strategy is the fact that there exists a typical, preferred ordering for the construction process, but not a rigid one. According to principles [outlined elsewhere], we may have specific orderings under the influence of stylistic, rhetorical, cognitive, pragmatic, or interactional factors. However, as hearers must be able to apply their comprehension schemata, effective communication presupposes that these deviations be explicitly marked, for example, by different intonation, specific pronouns, case endings, and so on.

(van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983: 282)

The point is that in order to make strategic moves it is necessary to have a framework of shared assumptions. A chess player's strategy will generally be useless against a novice. And we note that even the explicit marking of deviations is based on the same assumptions. Thus we need to relate our utterances, and the way these are sequenced, to knowledge of the world-outside-language.

Earlier we spoke a lot about planning, mainly because consideration of planning in language use emphasises the cognitive contribution of the speaker. We have noted that planning often involves adopting a schema which, we have suggested, is held in the mind while a particular speech task is run off. The schema being used may be a configuration of information, it may be an interpersonal routine, or else it may be an ideational routine. A similarity can be noted between the use of such a schema in speech production, and the use and alteration of similar schemata in language reception. Although alteration very often occurs - or is intended to occur - to the reader's schemata through the act of reading, it is generally considered helpful if the reader reads with at least some schema in mind. Such alterations may not be expected to occur to a speaker's schema during his act of speech production: they may however occur (cf van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983: 273).

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A major problem in the discussion of plans was raised by Levelt when he argued that 'it is plans that should be trained, not terminal activities' (1978: 58): normal use of language is not scripted. Discussing macrostructure models of discourse, Goldberg makes a similar point, arguing that these are too rigid:

The emergent quality of the discourse tends to be glossed over and lost. The structure is already determined; all that is required of speakers is that they encode their locutions in the order specified by the discourse type. Determining what to say and how to say it are not at issue. Determining when to say whatever needs to be said is.

(Goldberg, 1983: 28)

In this sense, an approach which stresses the rational goals of discourse, rather than the necessary turn sequences, seems to be more adequate an account of how discourse is negotiated. The point is that while plans do have to be formed or recovered from memory for use, they also have to be altered or revised in the light of the developing discourse. Rigidity, or rote performance, is not skill. Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1978) in their list of principal features of conversation include several which hinge on the unpredictability of the discourse, for example:

5. Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
6. Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
7. Length of conversation is not fixed, specified in advance.
8. What parties say is not fixed, specified in advance.
9. Relative distribution of turns is not fixed, specified in advance.
10. Number of parties can change.
13. Various 'turn-constructual units' are employed. Turns can be projectively 'one word long', or, for example, they can be sentential in length.

(Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1978: 11)

So that the use of unscripted oral discourse requires the ability to alter plans both over longer and shorter stretches. The choice and telling of a story will need to be adapted for the audience and for the time available for telling it, just as the planning of phrases or utterances will also need to vary. It is not sufficient, then, to have

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learnt the terminal activity. As Jacobs & Jackson put it comparing conversation to a game:

Each player's actions will constrain, in some degree, the actions of the other. As an individual game unfolds, however, the contributions of each player produce emergent, transpersonal patterns resulting in end states that may or may not represent the endstate envisioned by either player.

(Jacobs & Jackson, 1983: 52)

Planning, then, is rough, and above all involves improvisations and alterations. The speaker continually has to adapt his initial plans, his routines, his mental representation of the state of the discourse, and apply his lower level plans to solve conversational problems. This aspect of skill concerns the speaker's ability to adjust and connect, and it involves skills of judgement regarding the use of language and the communication of meaning at the moment of speech. The skill is the ability to manage. The strategies are the ways in which the speaker manages.

In order however for language learners to construe language in this manner, they have to be engaged in communicative activities. Through such activities the speakers can develop shared routines of communication. Rather than concentrating on the practice of specific low level plans, like much scripted language practice - which thereby runs the risk of 'collapsing the hierarchy', to use Levelt's phrase (1978 - communicative tasks engage the speaker in multiple uses for his knowledge. Foreign language speakers need to be able to operate within typical routines which will make sense to their interlocutors. They also need to develop routines for encoding specific types of messages, and for assembling their utterances. Learning a routine, using language in a routine, and developing a variety of linguistic routines are all likely to be useful for foreign language learners. Initially, indeed, one of the things that foreign language learners can find profoundly unsettling is that they lack the linguistic routines for handling various simple types of interaction, while other interaction sequences develop in unexpected ways.

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In the next section we discuss some of the more important strategies needed to maintain oral communication, and raise the question of which types of communication strategy are relevant for the study of learner production.

4.5.2 Oral communication strategies

How do speakers use language strategically in the context of the major kinds of routines discussed in the previous section? In what follows we will draw largely on the approach developed by van Dijk & Kintsch (1983).

First of all, we should establish a general point, which is that the realisation of the message content in any particular utterance (what van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) term the 'macro-structure' of an utterance) requires a series of strategic decisions, in order that the ensuing utterance is appropriately adjusted to the many aspects of the speech situation which it might be expected to be sensitive to. Thus broadly speaking, pragmatic language skill is by definition strategic.

When speakers use language, they can do so strategically in various ways. Van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) describe the following hierarchy of strategies of language production:

- Socio-cultural strategies - exploiting general values & assumptions
- Communicative strategies - based largely on the Gricean Cooperative Principles of quantity, quality, relevance & manner
- Pragmatic strategies - selecting the point & purpose of the communication
- Macrostrategies - involving the development of macro-propositions
- Local semantic strategies - structuring the message; considerations of ordering constraints & local coherence
- Formulation strategies - formulation of local propositions in actual sentence forms, within constraints of style, register, rhetorical devices; considerations of distribution of information; ranking of superordinate

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propositions; monitoring by higher level controls.

In effect, at any one of these levels, a variety of choices are available to the speaker for selecting, organising and expressing his message. The levels themselves serve to indicate ways in which the use of language is contextually embedded. This 'embedding' however opens the way for the speaker to select actively from a variety of options. Where the speaker's options are unconventional or unexpected, this is likely to need to be made explicit.

To study the types of strategies outlined by van Dijk & Kintsch would require a detailed account of the ways in which oral language can be used strategically in a variety of different tasks. Clearly, since virtually all use of language involves a wide range of strategies, it is necessary to select those strategies to be studied from among a wide range of possible candidates.

The principal strategies which we will be interested in in the rest of this study are limited in number. They do however cover a variety of different levels of decision-making. The first involves the 'staging' of the tasks. Generally this is reflected in the sequence in which the information content of a given task is dealt with. In some cases it is reflected in the kind of interaction sequences that occur. The second level relevant to understanding the language of learners in group activities involves the formulation strategies used. For the purposes of this study this is divided into two types. The first type consists of an account of the ways in which the information is syntactically encoded. The second type is concerned with the lexico-schematic strategies used. The final type of strategies of language production considered in this study is those which might be termed 'turn structuring' strategies. We will complete this section by looking briefly at these four kinds of strategy.

The first major kind of problem which learners are likely to have to solve is that of dividing up tasks, and completing them jointly. We

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will follow Brown & Yule (1983a) in calling this 'staging', and it relates to the way in which speakers 'linearise' (Leveld, 1982) the information to be communicated, as in the description of apartments collected by Linde & Labov (1975). The negotiation of any task so that it can be performed jointly in a given sequence is also an example of staging. Using language in association with staging is one way in which language is embedded in a larger pattern of behaviour. It enables language to be used to discuss the procedures to be followed, to agree on the next step, and to monitor the progress of the group.

The staging of the ideational content of tasks is often related to the interactional structure. For example, in teaching a lesson, an interactive approach may well involve addition of certain kinds of information which might not be mentioned in a heavily teacher-centred approach. In some cases, however, it is possible for the staging to be isomorphic with the interaction structure. For example, where a given task (such as a guessing game) is structurally defined in a given way, the kinds of staging which learners will be experiencing and exploiting are mainly interactional. Around this, an important ability which needs to be practised is the ability to check on and specify meanings (cf Long & Porter, 1985). The planning loop proposed by Færch & Kasper is one such strategy. The interaction sequences outlined by Varonis & Gass (1985) provide another example. Developing the ability to handle interaction involves learning strategies to do this. Thus staging strategies may be ideationally focussed, or else interactionally focussed.

The second major type of strategy, which speakers can be thought of as having to develop, is that of 'formulation strategies'. Any speaker constantly has to decide how he is going to encode his message, and what message will best express his intention. In considering the encoding aspect, speakers have the possibility of using a few of a limited number of grammatical devices for encoding the necessary information. Tasks may encourage the repeated use of a small number of such structures, which may become more varied as the speakers increase in proficiency. Such structures may be used in a formulaic manner for

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rapid encoding of the propositional content of utterances. In other tasks, such formulaicity may be less apparent.

With respect to strategies of message selection, the focus here is on the schematic strategies of the kind discussed by Paribakht. Under this type of strategy we raise the question of what shared knowledge is exploited by speakers in order to convey problematic meanings.

A final aspect of language use which is subject to the speaker's own strategies concerns the ways in which he structures his turns. For example, turns may be single phrases or sentences, well-organised without hesitation or repetition. Alternatively, to obtain more processing time, the speaker may strategically produce a single word taken from the previous turn, pause, and then provide a reply, as occurs in speaker B's turn in the following example:

Speaker A. Fred, have you seen my binoculars?

Speaker B. Me? - don't think so.

There are many ways of structuring turns (cf Edmondson, 1981), and, in a foreign language, learners have to explore ways which they find congenial. In producing utterances, speakers have to manage the demands of real time, in order to maintain communication. Bygate (1987) suggests that broadly speaking speakers adopt two sets of utterance level strategies aimed at helping the speaker sustain a steady level of fluency. The first of these might be called 'facilitating' strategies, since they have the effect of easing the difficulties in encoding that speakers might find. Examples include use of simplification, ellipsis, formulaic utterances and fillers and hesitation devices. A second set of features which we might term 'editing' strategies, compensate for the pressures that speakers can be under by allowing them to self-correct, something which would not be permitted in writing. Thus 'editing' strategies include self-correcting, false starts, repetition and rephrasing. Repetitions may include repetitions with expansions, with reductions, with substitutions, or simple repetitions.

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4.6 Conclusion

Thus to summarise, in the first chapter of this study we have focussed on the educational context in which fluency activities have over several decades gradually become more centrally implanted. We have observed that studies of language acquisition have given importance to the acquisition of language in contexts of use, and in particular through interactive communication. In chapter 3 we saw how oral language proficiency can be genuinely viewed as a skill, in which the skilled performer operates a hierarchy of decisions, running from cognitive to motor-perceptual. Finally, in the present chapter we have seen how the user's skills include his ability to make a variety of strategic choices in terms of his current communicative objectives. This involves taking a variety of different significant decisions. Communication strategies in this study are taken not to refer particularly to the supplementary 'loop' routines used for compensating for unusable vocabulary items (discussed in the earlier part of this chapter). Rather, we are taking communication strategies in a wider interpretation, involving the way the communication on given tasks is sequenced, and how the interaction is structured; what the speakers choose to say; how they say it (or encode it); and how they structure their turns to say it.

It is in this context that, in the following chapters, we will be seeking to understand the strategies of communication which non-native speakers use in oral group exercises. In approaching the learners' language in this manner we hope also to derive some fresh insights into some of the ways in which language learning can proceed in the context of communicative activities.

CHAPTER 5: PROCEDURES OF ELICITATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

5.0 Introduction

The preceding chapters have discussed the background and the theoretical approach to the study. We now turn to our main concern, which is an analysis of the oral language of non-native learners working on communicative exercises. The purpose of this chapter is i) to describe our objectives and hypotheses in gathering and examining the data, ii) to explain the relevant statistical tests; iii) to explain how the data was obtained and what it consists of; and iv) to define the units of analysis that are to be used. This will lead to an analysis of the data in the following chapters.

5.1 Objectives

The general objective of the study, then, is to examine the language of learners working orally on group activities. As we have seen (chapter 1) generally speaking in the past most language-learning exercises have deliberately aimed to practise and develop specific language knowledge. Exercises have therefore tended to be derived from a consideration of what language points teachers wish students to practise.

In the group activities which we are concerned with, the pedagogical intention of teachers who use them is to engage learners in normal communication tasks rather than in the learning of given language points. Our starting point is therefore an activity type; our intention is to work forwards from the activities to the language produced by learners. The purpose is to understand the sorts of communicative use learners make of the language they are learning, and the kinds of communication problems the activities pose. The expectation is to be able to find some significant differences between the exercises in question. On the basis of this, we hope to be able to make some predictions about the language which students can be generally expected

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to use and the problems they may be expected to have to cope with when working on similar tasks.

The main purpose, then, is to assess typical formal features of the language that learners use when engaged in such tasks and in particular to look for any linguistic differences which may occur from one task to another. The question being asked here is, does it make any difference to the discourse which activity learners are asked to do (apart from obvious lexical differences)? Will whatever type of task that a teacher sets have much the same effect?

A second objective is to account for any differences that may be found, by relating the linguistic features to the demands of the different tasks. Language differences are thus viewed as strategic responses on the part of the students to the task demands. This involves us in describing the demands of the specific tasks, and the problems they can pose. The research question being asked here then is, what are the difficulties that different task formats may hold, and what solutions are adopted by the learners? Let us look a little more closely at the two sets of hypotheses which we are concerned with.

5.1.1. Incidence of formal features.

It would be reasonable to expect that different activities involve the use of significantly different formal features of language. In order to explore this possibility, the main hypotheses are as follows.

1. That the amount and distribution of talk varies significantly according to the activity.
2. That the constituency of turns varies significantly from one activity to another.
3. That the occurrence of syntactic features of language varies across activities.

The features selected for analysis are syntactic units and these will be more fully defined below. The major categories are: length and distribution of turn; types of turns in terms of their phrasal and clausal constituency; and the incidence of clausal as opposed to

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phrasal constituents. Subcategories include types of satellite group; initial/non-initial clauses; conjoined/unconjoined clauses; incidence of interrogatives; types of interrogative; and types of satellite group. Statistical analyses are carried out on these measures to test for significant differences of means. (A sample record card is reproduced in Appendix B(1).)

5.1.2. Accounts of task-structures.

With respect to the second main objective, that of establishing an account of the problems posed by the tasks and the procedures followed by the groups in order to solve those problems, whatever the results of the formal analysis, the incidence of the formal features for a given group of students can be understood as one of a number of possible strategic responses to the expression and interaction problems posed by the cognitive features of the task in question.

On the basis of the statistical analysis, a *post facto* explanation is therefore offered to account for the formal patterns of language found for each activity. These explanations are not tested in this study. They relate the formal language patterns observed to the cognitive components of the task; and to the interaction and expression demands arising out of the task. The main research questions that we will try to answer are as follows:

1. What formal linguistic features broadly characterise the different tasks?
2. What cognitive macrostructure do the groups give to the tasks in the process of completing them?
3. How far do the tasks evoke a stereotypic grammatical and or lexical encoding strategy?
4. What turn-level microstructures develop during the execution of the linguistic decisions?

The first question is the subject of chapter 6; the second is dealt with in chapter 7; chapters 8 and 9 examine the third question; while the final question is discussed in chapter 10.

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A general research question summarizing these four questions is the following: if the linguistic strategies of a group of students hold a certain number of potential implications for the interaction and cognitive structure of tasks, and if the tasks similarly imply a certain potential for structuring, what inventory might be offered of tasks, and what predictions might be made as regards the way different sets of students might be expected to tackle them.

5.2 Statistical analyses.

A limited number of statistical analyses will be employed to study the similarities and differences of distribution of the formal features of the data. It might be useful briefly to introduce the relevant procedures at this point.

For reasons of statistical validity, the only test to be used on the sample is one which reflects the significance of any differences in the occurrence of a given measure in any two tasks. This is tested for by the 't-test' for independent (or unmatched) samples, which calculates whether the differences between the mean scores is significant (that is, whether any difference in the overall mean is due to enough of the individual instances to be significant: clearly, if such differences are attributable only to one or two abnormal scores, it would be impossible to conclude that any predictable difference is more likely in one direction than another for an individual subject (Hatch & Farhady, 1982: 108ff).

It may therefore be the case that tasks often stimulate similar linguistic responses, in terms of a lack of significant differences in particular means. A second expectation, however, is that in certain cases tasks do not generate significantly different formal linguistic responses.

A further weaker expectation is that the formal linguistic features observed to occur in the data will be distinctive of oral language as

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opposed to written language use. Observations will be presented which bear on this question (see chapter 10), although a controlled comparison is beyond the scope of this study.

One warning needs to be made here. The present study is to a large extent exploratory. This means that it is quite possible for conflicting factors to be at work in the data which may each cancel out the effect of the other. As Seliger and Long (1983) explain, it is perfectly possible for a statistical analysis to produce non-significant results simply because part of the data scores positively on the criterion measure, and the remainder scores sufficiently negatively for the resulting mean to be insignificant. Thus for example the scores of high and low proficiency performers; dyads and tryads; or specific contrasting learner styles might cancel each other out. This, then, is a reason for treating any results with care. Whatever the results, clear, cloudy or null, all will be open to further confirmation.

Furthermore, as we have already pointed out, the analysis will not stop with the statistics, but extend into a discussion of qualitative features of group and learner work on the activities. It is one thing to note the incidence of features, and another to understand why they so occur. By analysing the group strategies, we hope to get a little closer to such an understanding.

There is of course a certain scepticism in the profession about the usefulness of statistics in education. Part of this attitude is justifiable. Care needs to be taken in the interpretation of statistics. It should perhaps be emphasised here that the statistics are intended as a tool for descriptive purposes so as to permit an understanding of broad tendencies. While there is an obvious danger of extrapolating from figures to dogmatic predictions, teaching, like any other profession, is nonetheless very much concerned with the making of predictions.

A teacher cannot enter the classroom without making some predictions about how learning might profitably take place, about what is likely to

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be worth learning and what is likely to cause difficulties, and about how the learners are likely to go about the business of learning. It is therefore important for the profession to develop statistical surveys so as to maintain an informed and critical awareness of what predictions we can reliably make. In this sense, it is just as important to know that a tiny percentage may behave in one particular way, as our statistics may reveal, as it is to know that the majority do something else. Statistics are being employed here then as no more than a sophisticated detection device. It is useful to remember that most of the types of questions which we are raising are, or can be, everyday predictions for many teachers. All we are doing here is to articulate them.

5.3 Procedures for obtaining the data

In order to obtain appropriate data it was a condition of the study that the students should be recorded working only with peers, and without the participation of teachers. We have already noted (eg. Chapters 2 and 4 above) that much of the research into learner language has often been based on data obtained in test, or quasi-test situations. Since our major objective is to study the way learners work in small groups on activities specifically designed for that mode of interaction, the procedures adopted had to involve groups formed of non-native speakers.

Of course it is important to retain some scepticism with regard to the 'authenticity' of the data, and the 'observer's paradox' (cf. Stubbs, 1983: 224-227). The placing of a microphone on a table between the speakers, and the fact that the participants had to operate the tape-recorders, cannot be without some effect on the performance. However, although quite possibly some of the major categories of analysis are in some way affected by the conditions of recording, just how much is open to speculation. There are however one or two reasons for accepting such a state of affairs.

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Firstly, and most importantly, there was little choice but to record the subjects openly. Admittedly, recording groups over a long period might reduce the observation effect by the sheer force of familiarity or habit (as was found by Barnes, 1976, and Barnes & Todd, 1977). Unfortunately, the time scale necessary for this was not available, so the imperfections were judged an acceptable price to pay for the chance to conduct a systematic study into a small trial sample. In the present state of knowledge, this seemed an entirely justifiable approach.

However, it can be assumed that the data collected was reasonably representative. For one thing, the presentation of the activities was explicitly unconnected with any form of assessment of the participants (although this may not of course have prevented the subjects from making some such connection for themselves). Secondly, the participants were engaged in communicative tasks, where however much the knowledge that they were being observed might have bothered them, what they were being asked to do - by the researcher and by their peers - was to complete the tasks. Consequently, the need for the participants to attend to meaning may at least have taken their minds off an over-preoccupation with form, or from the thought that they could be evaluated (see Abbott, 1981 for a brief discussion of a possible incompatibility between attention to form and attention to content).

It is perhaps also reasonable to make the point that it is only by building up and analyzing banks of data that it is possible to obtain a balanced view of the kinds of verbal behaviour that are typical in specific circumstances. The implication of this is that without such a body of knowledge, there is no basis for judging the authenticity of the data. (Presumably, similar procedures are followed for establishing the authenticity of data about the surface of unknown planets.) It is to be hoped that studies like the present one may help to form a view of what such authentic data may be like.

Furthermore, irrespective of the authenticity of the data, the claim that any particular pattern appears, or fails to appear, or that such

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patterns appear only inconsistently, or are contradicted in a specific number of cases is, in each case, a theoretical statement based on observation and is entirely open to confirmation, refutation, or redefinition. At the time of writing there are few statements of any kind which permit a prediction of the characteristics of oral language as they relate to specific group tasks. This is the reason for undertaking the present study.

5.4 Subjects

The subjects were 45 in-service non-native trainee teachers. In order to give an idea of their level of English proficiency, we report their scores on the TOEFL written test. These ranged from 4 to 19 with a mean of 11 ($s=12.65$), which suggests that the subjects represented quite a wide range of written ability.

The subjects were divided into 11 groups on an ad hoc basis, with the proficiency levels of the groups varying between high, medium, low or mixed proficiencies. One of the 11 groups was a standby group, and was not in fact called upon. Seven of the remaining 40 trainees were absent, so that several of the groups were randomly reduced from four to three and, in one case, two subjects. This left groups as follows:

Uniformly high level: Group D - 4Ss;
High with one low : Groups E - 3Ss; F: 4Ss;
High with mid : Groups A - 3Ss; H,J: 4Ss each;
High, mid and low : Group G - 3Ss;
Mid : Group C - 3Ss;
Mid and low : Groups B - 2Ss; I: 3Ss.

The labels *high*, *mid*, and *low* relate to marks for the TOEFL written test as follows: HIGH 12-16, MID 8-11; LOW:4-7. It should be emphasised that proficiency has not been controlled for in the grouping, and that the figures are merely intended to give an idea of the size and composition of the groups. The forthcoming analysis is for almost every measure related to group, and not individual, performance.

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Most, if not all, of the subjects had had no previous experience of the activities they were to be engaged in. It must be observed therefore that this study can make no observations about the effect on performance of the learners' familiarity with the task types. It must also be remarked of course that the one-off nature of the recordings similarly requires caution in extrapolating from the analyses to normal class circumstances.

5.5 Exercises

Five exercises were selected from Byrne and Rixon (1979), with slight modifications. The tasks chosen were as follows:

1. What's the difference?
2. What's my nationality?
3. Complete the map.
4. Ask the right question.
5. Complete it.

These are all typical activities within the communicative approach to language teaching. The first exercise consists of two similar pictures which the students describe in order to discover the differences. The second task involves drawing a card on which is written the name of a country. The other students have to ask questions to discover which country it is. The third activity requires the students to compare two versions of a map, and fill in missing details from information given by a partner. In the fourth game students take it in turns to draw a card from a pile, on which they find a word or words. They have to ask questions which will elicit from the other students precisely the word(s) on the card. In the last activity, learners are each given a picture of a different episode in a story. Each then has to describe his picture so that the group can reconstruct the story without seeing the four pictures together.

Slight modifications were made to certain of the activities. In exercise 1, in order to ensure that the recording was sufficiently long, a second pair of pictures was added to the task. This caused a little confusion, but did result in an increased amount of talk. A modification was also

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made to the third exercise. In fact this is published as a direction-finding activity which forms part of a longer task. In order to reduce the scope of the exercise, the map was used to make two slightly different versions of the same bit of countryside, and subjects were asked to fill in the missing details. This is a frequently used type of task (cf. A.Anderson, 1985) but on this occasion it failed to make the activity more manageable. It still produced a considerable amount of interesting data.

The materials for each exercise were presented in folders with written instructions on the front. Two sets of complementary instructions were provided where necessary.

More detailed descriptions of the exercises are as follows:

Exercise 1: 'Find the differences'.

The group has a pair of pictures with many similarities and some differences of details. Without seeing the other picture, learners must discover at least three differences between the pair of pictures. Having found three differences they may look for more. This can be done by looking at the two pictures simultaneously.

Exercise 2: 'Guess my nationality'.

The group has a pack of cards face down in the centre of the table. On each card is the name of a country. One student takes a card, and the others ask questions to discover the name of the country on the card. Students take it in turns to draw a card. Instructions do not proscribe any type of question or any type of answer, although students may choose to impose some restrictions.

Exercise 3: 'Complete the Maps'.

In this exercise the group has two different versions of the same map. Without looking at the other version, the two halves of the group must put their information together so that they both end up with the same map. This exercise is similar to the first, in that the groups have to identify differences between two sets of information. It differs in that

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it also requires the participants to give each other instructions which will enable them to insert missing details accurately.

Exercise 4: 'Ask the Right Question'

In this exercise, students take turns in drawing a card from a pack face down in the centre of the table. On each card is a word. The student who draws the card must ask a question in such a way as to elicit the word on the card - and only that word - from his colleagues.

Exercise 5: 'Complete It'.

This consists of a four part picture story. Each participant has one of the pictures. Any pictures left over because of absentees are to be left on the table in full view. (An alternative procedure might have been to conceal the pictures and ask the group members to deduce the likely content of the missing pictures before letting them look at them. This might have affected the language produced.) Without looking at each others' pictures, the group is to reconstruct the story aloud.

The materials and instructions used are reproduced in Appendix A.

5.6 Recording procedures

Video recording was not possible, and although it might have been helpful at times, it was not necessary for the kind of analysis developed. The materials for each activity were set out in adjacent rooms with a cassette recorder plugged in and ready to record. Subjects circulated from one room to the next. Students installed themselves and recorded when they were ready. Support was at hand if they had difficulties with either the task or the machine. Some recordings were however missed, and on one occasion one group unintentionally succeeded in recording over another group. Groups were allowed approximately 15 minutes to complete their recordings, and were then given a signal to proceed to the next activity.

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Groups F-J had only sufficient time to do four tasks. To summarise, the recordings made for each exercise were as follows:

Exercises	Groups										
1	A	B	C	D	E	F	-	-	-	J	(= 7 groups; 23 ss)
2	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	-	I	J	(= 9 groups; 29 ss)
3	A	B	-	D	E	F	G	-	-	J	(= 7 groups; 23 ss)
4	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	-	-	(= 8 groups; 26 ss)
5	-	B	C	D	E	-	G	H	I	J	(= 8 groups; 26 ss)

Group I in fact recorded Exercise 3, but spent the time trying to interpret their maps. The recording was not analyzed.

The data comprised some seven hours of recorded talk. The shortest total recording was for Exercise 5, followed by Exercise 1, then Exercise 4, then Exercise 2. Exercise 3 provided the most data. The recordings were transcribed manually.

5.7 Units of analysis

In order to describe the data, we have a choice among a variety of units of analysis. In order to examine the connection between the surface forms of language and the structures of the tasks however, the basic units selected for the analysis are formal. Once these have been discussed, we then move to a consideration of the possible task structures and how the formal units can be related to them. This then necessitates a second level of analysis which is purpose-related. In what follows we will discuss the units involved in the formal part.

5.7.0 Formal units

Before making any classification of the syntactic units, it is important to identify the unit of 'turn'. This is used in what follows, in order to define certain items, and subcategories. For our purposes we use Fries' definition of an utterance:

'the two-word phrase *utterance unit* will mean any stretch of speech by one person before which there was silence on his part and after which there was also silence on his part. Utterance units are thus those chunks of talk that are marked off by a change of speaker',
(Fries, 1952: 23)

We will use the term 'utterance' as defined here interchangeably with the term 'turn'. This means, for instance, that a speaker who begins to speak while someone else is speaking produces a turn however long he continues for, even if he terminates before the previous speaker finishes (as for example S4 in (1)) or after another speaker has started. (Note that references following the extracts are to the data presented in Appendix C, and represent the number of the exercise, the group letter, and the line numbers).

- 1) S5: she is looking through the window the man who is running
S4: [at the man]
[1B, 1.79-80]

The definition also means that if a speaker pauses, or stops, his turn only ends when a new speaker begins. Therefore, if after a long pause, the same speaker continues, even if he has changed the topic, we count this as a continuation of the same turn (see (2)).

- 2) S5: and a old lady - - and er passengers who is hungry
[1B, 1.55]

Clearly, we are using a term of a high level of generality, given that we have proposed no meaning unit as criterial to the definition. In working with the units as defined by Fries, we will not be recognizing non-linguistic turns (cf. Levinson's discussion of the problem of attributing silence in the definition of turns (1983: 296ff)).

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5.7.1. Amount and distribution of talk

We start then with the broadest level of analysis, in order to obtain a general view of the quantity of talk produced by the learners in the different exercises. This consists of surveying the lengths and distribution of turns.

5.7.1.1 Length of turn.

Here the measure used is the mean number of words per turn, derived by counting the number of words of each speaker, and dividing by the number of turns undertaken by the speaker.

It is true that mean length of utterance in terms of words is not an entirely satisfactory measure (cf. Peters, 1983). However, the measure does enable us to look to see whether there is any difference between the exercises from the point of view of the occurrence of longer or shorter turns. A high average number of words per turn registered for a significant number of groups would suggest that a given task tends to encourage or require longer turns.

5.7.1.2 Distribution of turn length.

The averages of turn lengths, however, can obscure internal imbalances within the group. A high average may be equally shared by all participants in the group. Alternatively, it might arise through the contribution of long speeches by one member, and a few short responses by his/her colleagues. To compensate for this, therefore, we use a second measure, designed to show the distribution of talk between the participants.

A relevant statistic for this is the range between the highest and lowest individual students' averages. A small difference would indicate that the average turn length of the group arises from equal contributions of all the group members. A large difference, on the other hand, would tend to suggest that the average utterance length is largely due to the participation of only one or two of the students. It is worth noting that this statistic is also rather more revealing in

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the discussion of the work of dyads than the following figure which computes the distribution of utterances.

It is of course quite likely that such variations are in part predicted by the personalities and interpersonal relations set up between the different group members. This dimension, however, although of importance, is simply beyond the scope of the present study. Our concern here is to see whether such variations as occur correlate with the individual exercises.

5.7.1.3 Distribution of turns

A further point of interest is to know how the tasks influence the distribution of talk. Clearly, if equal talking-time and participation is important in group-work, it will be of interest to know whether as a rule in a given exercise one or two students tend to produce most of the utterances; whether differences of turn distribution arise randomly; or whether certain exercises tend to encourage a relatively even distribution of turns between the participants.

The third measure of the distribution of talk is derived by calculating the percentage of turns attributable to each member of the groups. An even distribution of turns should be reflected in a small difference between the highest and lowest percentage scores of the individual members of each group. On the other hand, where a big difference can be found between the scores of the highest and lowest turn-takers, it may be assumed that some imbalance has occurred.

Of course, the number of turns produced by a speaker can be a deceptive index of his participation. For instance, it is perfectly possible for a student working in a triad or quartet to register a high percentage of utterances the majority of which are however very short, while another colleague produces a few very long turns. This measure, therefore, needs to be read in conjunction with the preceding one of turn-length.

It is worth noting that these three measures enable various possibilities. For instance, there may be no significant differences:

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alternatively, differences may occur idiosyncratically for the various groups, and as a result we may conclude that it is of greater interest to study the variations from the point of view of individual or group learning styles.

5.7.2 Turn constituency

Turn constituency has often been described in functional terms (eg. Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Without wishing to deny the relevance of functional features for a full understanding of discourse, our prime concern here is to consider formal phenomena, since these can be thought of as the cutting edge of language development. We thus do not analyse the meaning intentions at this stage, but the formal units which tend to be mobilized, whatever they may be. We thus distinguish between utterances made up of the following units:

CATEGORIES OF TURN:

URNS CONSISTING OF:

- a) single phrase turns : a single phrase
- b) single clause " : a single clause
- c) single mixed " : a single clause plus a single phrase
- d) multiple clause turns; more than one clause
- e) multiple phrase " ; more than one phrase
- f) multiple mixed turns: multiple clauses plus one or more phrases OR multiple phrases plus one or more clauses.

Examples of these categories are, respectively:

- 3) S14: the the → man er the man leaving the er leaving the office in
a hurry [1E,1.42-3]
- 4) S4: do you have a → nold lady [1B,1.70]
- 5) S9: right so you have that one [1D,1.64]
- 6) S9: there are four pictures but I suppose that we just take one each
[1D,1.1]
- 7) S13: yea . and the lady [1E,1.71-2]
- 8) S13: she is not . so . another difference . erm . how many ornaments
do you have on the wall [1E,1.158-9]

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The motivation behind using these units is to be able to describe the texture of the discourse in terms of the distribution of the syntactic unit-types through the turns. An account which omits this level makes it very difficult to understand the relationship between the incidence of units and the resulting discourse. For instance, it fails to answer questions about the sort of oral production are speakers engaging in at a given level of proficiency, or on given exercises.

Of course, in order to be able to identify units like these, it is necessary to have applicable definitions of the constituent units. We will now define these.

5.7.3 Constituent Grammatical units.

The units were counted manually onto record cards, one of which is reproduced in Appendix B(1). In what follows we briefly define the units involved.

5.7.3.1 Primary units

1) Clause vs. phrase

This is a basic distinction between finite and non-finite syntactic units. Finite syntactic units by definition require a finite verb, and must not lack an obligatory syntactic element. However, utterances with subject omission are classed as clauses, as of course are subordinate clauses occurring in a separate turn from that of the main clause. However, the term 'clause' excludes unfinished fragments containing a finite verb, or those which are completed by a following utterance.

This distinction between finite and non-finite units arises out of a concern to distinguish between the processing of a finite verb and its dependent arguments on the one hand, and the production of units requiring less cognitive processing. The reason for including subject omissions under the finite category is that despite the omission they still involve manipulation of both finite verb and dependent units. As such they are being counted as representing the satisfactory utterance of a finite unit. Similarly, occurrence of a subordinate clause in a turn on its own requires the structuring of a finite clause. Fragments,

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on the other hand, either are completed, or else lapse. They have not been fully processed syntactically.

Phrases are non-finite syntactic units. Since clauses are partly made up of non-finite syntactic units, and since also the number of such non-finite units is not a matter of particular interest, the definition needs some refinement. For our purposes, we will count as a phrase any non-finite syntactic unit which occurs firstly in a turn in which it is not part of a finite clause (see (9)); and secondly, in a turn in which there is a related finite clause, but one to which it is related only parenthetically (as in (10)).

9) S14: an umbrella and a briefcase

S13: a briefcase yes

[1E,1.81-2]

10) S14: and er at the right of that picture we have - oh at the left of the picture yes the left it's in my right

[1E,11.103-5]

The first type includes 'moodless moves'. The second kind covers self-correction, where the item in question may be a substituted or substituting non-finite group. Phrases as we define them here are clearly a typical feature of oral, as opposed to written, discourse (see sections 10.1 and 10.2 for further examples and discussion of these categories).

It is perhaps worth noting that we have chosen not to use a sentence unit. This is not because - as has been suggested (eg. Akinasso, 1982) - finite clauses are equivalent to sentences, but rather because from the point of view of language processing the incidence of sentences appears likely to be far less informative than the production of finite clauses or non finite phrases. One reason for this is that sentences according to our view need not be finite. A survey of sentence production would therefore fail to distinguish some important features. Secondly, it is perfectly possible for several participants to contribute to sentences, so that on the one hand attribution would be

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difficult, while on the other it would once again miss an important level of language production.

11) Interrogatives.

A type of utterance which is of concern to applied linguists is the interrogative. Because interrogatives are thought to pose problems for the learner, activities are sometimes engineered in order to generate practice in asking questions. Consequently, it is of interest to check the incidence of clausal interrogatives in the various exercises which we examine.

111) Repetition

In studying the texture of spoken discourse, a final formal category of interest is that of repetition. Teachers and materials producers may deliberately use certain activities if it was thought that they were more likely to encourage repetition than others. Alternatively, if repetition was not specifically correlated with any given activity or activity type, it would then be possible to see whether there is a connection between proficiency and repetition, or whether the use of repetition is simply a matter of communicative strategy.

5.7.3.2 Subcategories

1) Clauses

a) Clauses are further subcategorised in two ways. Firstly, contact/non-contact. Here we distinguish between utterance initial and utterance non-initial clauses:

- 11) S13: so there is the first difference I wh what is the girl doing
[1E,1.139-41]

The purpose is to note to what extent clauses occur after some other element in an utterance, or how far they occur at the beginnings of utterances. This might be of interest in considering the circumstances of production of syntactic units, as well as providing a possible measure of language proficiency.

b) The second subclassification concerns the presence or absence of conjoining, which is reviewed by noting the incidence of conjoined and

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un onjoined clauses. A high incidence of conjoining in certain activities might suggest a slightly higher level of explicit semantic structuring in the production of language.

c) Conjoining x utterance position. In addition, we also use the two previous measures to compute the degree of conjoining in contact and non-contact clauses. The point here is to examine the hypothesis that conjunction is generally utterance-internal (ie. occurring in 'contact' position). This view supposes that conjunctions are mainly used by speakers who produce both main and dependent clause. An alternative possibility is that conjoined clauses also occur in utterances which only contain one of the two related clauses, the other occurring in another utterance.

There are two comments to be made here. It is very difficult to produce categories which give all the desired information. These two are a case in point. Firstly, according to our definition, contact conjunction can occur following an initial phrase, to which, however, the conjunction does not relate (eg. 'Yes, because it is in the East' (fabricated example)). This could be described as a case of hidden non-contact conjunction. Such cases are counted as 'non-contact conjunction'.

Secondly, utterance initial conjunction can obviously occur in an initial subordinate clause which is followed by the main clause in the same utterance. This type of distribution we will classify as 'contact conjunction'.

ii) Phrases

Phrases were not subcategorised for the purposes of the statistical analysis.

iii) Satellite units

This is a macrocategory formed from elements already defined. It consists of features which are particularly characteristic of speech. These are a) phrases as we have defined them; and b) utterance-initial clauses which are dependent on a clause occurring in a previous turn

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(see sections 10.3 and 10.4 for fuller discussion and exemplification). This category is not used in the statistical analysis.

iv) Repetition

Various kinds of repetition have been identified in the literature. In formal terms, however, we will limit the categories to four kinds: verbatim; reduction; expansion; substitution. These are operationally defined as follows.

Verbatim repetition is the repetition of a whole preceding unit. This means repetition of at least a whole clause or non-finite group as defined above.

Reduction is the repetition of part of only a part of a preceding unit, be it a clausal or non-finite group.

Expansion refers to the repetition of all or part of a preceding unit with the addition of some further item. Such an item may be inserted in the unit, or added to its beginning or its end.

Substitution covers the repetition of all or part of a preceding unit which brings with it the substitution of one of its constituents by one or more replacement items.

Once again, the occurrence of these subcategories is studied in greater depth in chapter 10.

5.8 Conclusion

The basis for the analysis then has been defined, and the procedures determined. The intention is to develop both a quantitative and a qualitative account of the language behaviour of the ten groups working on the five selected oral activities. As we have indicated above, a qualitative account needs to take into consideration how the learners go about completing the tasks they are set. This requires a description of how the tasks are divided up, how the procedural decisions are taken, and what kinds of communicative moves are selected by the learners in response to the tasks. This is discussed in chapter 7.

This level of analysis is based on the collective decisions taken by the ten groups. Ten groups scarcely offer an adequate basis for a

statistical account of the language produced, or of the strategic decisions that they take. It is thus inappropriate to base any kind of statistical analysis on these aspects of the analysis: we will be satisfied to be able to demonstrate what paths the ten groups select in the process of solving the problems, and to identify some differences in group behaviour provided by our data. It is to be hoped that some of this information can be of help in developing a closer understanding of what groups do when asked to solve oral communication tasks without the supervision of teaching staff.

The analysis then focusses on the ways in which information is typically encoded by speakers in the various exercises. This involves consideration of the recurring, and even formulaic, syntactic strategies used to encode information in the exercises. This is treated in chapter 8. We then discuss the kinds of semantic signalling used to communicate problematic concepts, somewhat along the lines of the work of Paribakht (1985), and this is the subject of chapter 9.

Our final concern is to identify at a more general level the linguistic strategies used by learners in the structuring of their discourse turn by turn. Here, our discussion will shift from the strategies used for dealing with the specific activities to the strategies used by speakers in structuring their turns. This involves two basic questions: firstly, we will be concerned with forming an understanding of how learners cope with limited language resources and reduced fluency to produce functional discourse under the normal processing constraints of oral communication. Secondly we will want to know, what, if any, might be the role of oral language work in the context of language learning. In these two questions, we will thus be posing one of the basic problems from which this study started: how is it possible that learners can learn language through working in small groups with other learners, and what can such an assertion mean? This will be the subject of chapter 10. The units of analysis used in chapters 7-10 will be introduced as they are required. First, however, we turn to a statistical analysis of the formal categories of the data, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

6.0 Introduction

Here we present and discuss a formal analysis of the language used by the subjects on the five oral exercises (see section 5.5 for a full description), using the units defined in the preceding chapter (see section 5.7). For convenience, we analyse the data in three stages as follows:

1. Amounts of talk, consisting of an analysis of turn length and distribution of turns between group members.
2. Formal types of turn, that is, an analysis of turn constituency in terms of numbers of phrases and/or clauses.
3. Formal types of turn constituent, analysing the incidence of phrases and clauses, and of the types of phrases and clauses which occur.

In this way we proceed from the most general units down towards the most specific.

In each case, statistics are presented to show the relative incidence of unit types. 'Pooled' t-tests for independent samples (Cohen & Holliday, 1982; Hatch & Farhady, 1982: 108ff) are applied to test for significant differences between the means for each task at each level of analysis. After the presentation of results, we discuss the possible interpretations. Criterial significance adopted is at the $p < .01$ level.

6.1 Amount and distribution of talk

Comparison of the exercises on the three selected measures is presented one measure at a time. It is appropriate to state our main predictions. Firstly, we would be expecting exercises 1 and 5 to encourage longer turns due to the picture-based nature of the tasks. Further, we would also expect exercises 2 and 4 to encourage more even distribution of talk, in terms of both number and length of turn, due to the regulated element of the card-drawing routine. Our main predictions therefore for

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the measures considered in this section are that significant differences would be found in comparisons of exercises 1 and 5 with exercises 2, and 4. Results on the three measures are presented in tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3. The full percentage scores are reported in Appendix B (2).

TABLE 6.1: MLU

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 5	3	4	2
Exercise 1		20.67	23.68	n.s.	n.s.	1.83 ¹	2.00 ¹
"	5	10.60	3.43	-	n.s.	4.11 ⁴	4.63 ⁴
"	3	7.70	5.54		-	n.s.	n.s.
"	4	5.43	0.96			-	n.s.
"	2	5.06	1.06				-

(¹ $t < .05$; ⁴ $t < .005$)

TABLE 6.2: Distribution of turns

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 5	1	2	4
Exercise 3		27.00	16.97	n.s.	n.s.	2.50 ²	2.39 ²
"	5	22.75	10.19			2.80 ³	2.67 ³
"	1	21.43	13.33		-	1.93 ¹	1.87 ¹
"	2	12.44	3.97			-	n.s.
"	4	11.88	5.41				-

(¹ $t < .05$; ² $t < .025$; ³ $t < .01$)

TABLE 6.3: Range of MLUs between subjects

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 3	5	4	2
Exercise 1		19.63	24.85	n.s.	n.s.	1.88 ¹	2.10 ¹
"	3	10.80	14.40	-		n.s.	1.60
"	5	7.41	4.48		-	2.46 ²	2.74 ³
"	4	3.14	2.02			-	n.s.
"	2	3.11	1.45				-

(¹ $t < .05$; ² $t < .025$; ³ $t < .01$)

6.1.1 Results: amount and distribution of talk

Firstly, it is noticeable that on all three measures exercises 2 and 4 cluster together at or near a level of significance when compared with exercises 1, 3 and 5. That is, exercises 2 and 4 tend to have significantly shorter utterances, more even distribution, and smaller differences between the mean lengths of the individual speakers.

Consideration of these statistics at the $t < .01$ criterial level of significance indicates first of all that the only significant

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differences occur between exercise 5 against exercises 2 and 4 on the measures of MLU and evenness of distribution of turns, and between exercises 5 and 2 on the measure for the range of turn length of individual subjects. In other words, the picture story produces significantly longer turns on average, and significantly greater inequality of length and of number of turns of the individual students. In comparison, the question-asking exercises (exercises 2 and 4) produce significantly shorter turns, which are more even in length and more evenly distributed. This is consistent with our expectations. In particular, the effects firstly of having to take turns to draw a card, and secondly of the predetermined nature of the interaction are presumably largely responsible for the evenness of distribution of turn and for the small range of turn length (this will be discussed further below).

It is worth noting that although no other figure reaches significance, several figures fall just outside the criterial level. In particular we might note that exercise 1 shows the same tendencies as exercise 5 on all three measures. This too is consistent with our predictions. The weaker result, however, suggests that learners' behaviour is less consistent on exercise 1 than on exercises 2, 4 and 5. We will see in our discussion of staging strategies possible reasons why this is so (see especially chapter 7, but also section 6.1.2 below).

Finally, exercise 3 groups with exercises 1 and 5 on these measures: turns tend to be longer, and distribution of number and length of turns is more uneven than in exercises 2 and 4. However, these differences are only marked tendencies in the matter of distribution of number and length of turns. Differences in MLU are well below significance. So although there is a tendency for students working on exercise 3 to perform similarly to the way they do in exercises 1 and 5, this tendency is inconsistent, suggesting that here groups adopt a wider variety of approaches than in the other activities.

Results so far, then, suggest that exercises 1 and 5 encourage longer turns and less even distribution of mean utterance length. Exercises 1

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and 5 seem also to encourage less even distribution of turns. On the other hand, exercises 2 and 4 seem to produce the opposite effect: short mean utterance length; more homogeneity of means between learners; and more even distribution of turns.

6.1.2 Discussion: amount and distribution of talk

It is worth commenting briefly on the significance of the results. Firstly, it should be pointed out that all the activities probably include some similar kinds of utterance. Thus metacommunicative interaction - involving, for example the business of deciding who starts and what the task is about; checking on understanding; commenting on the task; agreeing to stop - have not been controlled for. With these features controlled for, it is possible that the remaining language would differ more sharply than the present results show. Thus any significant figures, or figures near to significance, warrant careful consideration at this stage of the research.

The results of the analysis of distribution of talk can be understood in the light of the kinds of exercises being considered. Exercises 1 and 5 are the two exercises which are based on visual material. In addition, part of the task is to identify what is in the pictures, and what features of the pictures are relevant. The card-based exercises, on the other hand, are focussed both in terms of the information to be communicated, and the means available. The tendency then for longer turns describing the visual material in exercises 1 and 5 is, therefore, not altogether surprising. Furthermore, the fact that exercises 2 and 4 have a turn-taking routine built in to them conspires to ensure more even turn length and more even turn distribution.

This is for three reasons: firstly, each group member will draw a card, and thus take it in turns to have a central role in the interaction. In addition, many groups similarly insist on taking it in turns to ask questions in exercise 2, or answer them in exercise 4. This ensures that the most dominant participants will be to some degree checked in the frequency with which they speak. The second point is that the nature of the turns is largely regulated by the definition of the exercise. Thus,

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members are less likely to intervene at any point to produce a longer than normal utterance. This is likely to restrict the discrepancy in mean utterance length between participants. Thirdly, the question/answer definition of exercises 2 and 4 would be expected to make for shorter mean utterances. This then accounts in large part for the differences between exercises 2 and 4, and 1 and 5.

It is of interest however to note that the results for exercise 1 suggest a greater degree of variation between the groups than on exercise 5. This is in fact borne out in our analysis of strategies. The groups show a wider variety of ways of solving exercise 1 than most of the other exercises. Thus although some groups do complete exercise 1 using a few very long turns, this is by no means the case with all the groups. Some resort to very short turns proceeding on an item-by-item basis; others mix the two approaches, producing firstly long turns providing an overview of the speakers' respective pictures, and then on moving into more detailed comparisons using shorter turns. This use of short turns only appears to occur in exercise 5 where one of the members of the group has difficulty in providing a coherent description of his picture. Otherwise, speakers tend to use longer more self-sufficient turns.

What of exercise 3? Exercise 3 seems to fall between the two groups, but appears closer to exercises 1 and 5. It fails to show any significant difference or significant trend on length of utterance measures. On the other hand, a trend does appear ($t < .025$) for exercise 3 to have a less even distribution of utterances than exercises 2 and 4. Since exercise 3 shares with 1 and 5 the feature that there is no internal turn-taking structure, in contrast with exercises 2 and 4, this would explain why certain participants find themselves squeezed out.

It may also be worth considering why exercise 3, although it does rank consistently above exercises 2 and 4, fails to show a significant difference on the other two measures. Firstly, it is worth pointing out that the presence of the visual material is likely to encourage longer utterances. However, the comparison of the maps does not encourage

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learners to produce long turns: too much detail - and a consequent need for precision - tends to cause participants often to avoid long utterances, and instead to produce sequences of short utterances consisting of 'identify - (check - confirm) - compare - check - confirm' moves resembling the exchanges typical of exercises 2 and 4. (This point will be discussed further in section 6.2.2 below.)

Secondly, the lack of a turn-regulating mechanism probably accounts for the possibility that two of the speakers will take hold of the activity, so that the third or fourth speakers remain confined to the shorter checking or confirming turns, leaving them with low utterance means at the end. Exercise 3 thus lies somewhere in between exercises 1 and 5, and 2 and 4 on our measures, tending however to resemble 1 and 5 more than 2 and 4.

One final observation is worth making. The exercises which produce the most talk in terms of length of recording, as we have already observed in the preceding chapter, were activity 3, followed by exercises 2 and 4. Exercises 1 and 5 produced the second least and least amount of talk respectively. Although this is not a controlled measure, the fact is that the exercises which were completed most rapidly were the last two. While length of the recordings for exercise 3 can be attributed to the difficulty of the task, in the case of exercises 4 and 2 the amount of talk stimulated may be due to what Littlewood calls the 'specific meanings' of real general knowledge (Littlewood, 1981: 17). On the other hand, exercises 1 and 5, were most obviously fictitious. However, although 1 was completed inside the total recording time for most of the groups, it also generated a curiosity factor which kept the groups talking well after they had found the three basic differences between the pictures.

Of all the exercises, 5 was perhaps the least stimulating logically. It would therefore be interesting to compare this story with others, varying the number of scenes, as well as the numbers of participants. The small number of characters (3) and of episodes (4) strictly limited the number of logical possibilities. It may be that these variations,

which Brown and Yule (1983b) identify as a difficulty parameter, could equally well be seen as a source of stimulation.

6.2 Syntactic constituency of utterances.

Next we consider the kinds of syntactic utterances speakers engage in. Our units of analysis are the phrase or the clause. The reader will recall that this yields three possible utterance types: phrasal, clausal, or mixed. In addition, any of these three utterance types may consist of either one, or more than one unit of either type, creating a total of six possible utterance types - our three categories can each be either single or multiple (these have been fully defined and described in section 5.7).

Apart from this, we compute four further combined scores. These are as follows: all utterances consisting only of phrases - thus excluding those containing clauses; all utterances consisting only of clauses; all utterances consisting of only one syntactic unit - be it a phrase or a clause; and all multi-unit utterances. This gives us ten different measures: three for phrasal utterances; three for clausal utterances; two for mixed; and two for single vs. multiple moves.

Our expectations were that the card-based exercises - 2 and 4 - would encourage more phrasal utterances (single, multi, and both); and more one-move utterances. Exercises 1, 3 and 5, on the other hand would be expected to produce more clausal utterances (single, multiple and of all kinds) and more multi-move utterances.

6.2.1 Results: constituency of utterances

Once again not all pairs of comparisons show significant differences. Results are presented in tables 6.4 to 6.13.

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TABLE 6.4: Single phrase utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 3	2	1	5
Exercise 4		44.00	6.05	n.s.	n.s.	5.22 ⁴	4.71 ⁴
"	3	43.00	8.98	-	n.s.	3.62 ⁴	3.74 ⁴
"	2	39.90	9.21		-	2.82 ³	3.31 ⁴
"	1	29.00	5.25			-	n.s.
"	5	24.38	10.12				-

TABLE 6.5: Multi-phrase utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 3	2	5	1
Exercise 4		11.38	3.58	n.s.	1.73	2.08 ¹	3.43 ⁴
"	3	9.43	3.70	-	n.s.	n.s.	2.30 ²
"	2	7.78	4.80		-		n.s.
"	5	6.63	5.37			-	n.s.
"	1	4.71	3.95				-

TABLE 6.6: All phrase-only utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 3	2	1	5
Exercise 4		55.38	7.17	n.s.	n.s.	5.51 ⁴	4.94 ⁴
"	3	52.43	12.15		n.s.	3.40 ⁴	3.43 ⁴
"	2	47.67	10.98		-	2.82 ³	2.99 ⁴
"	1	33.71	8.06			-	n.s.
"	5	31.25	11.87				-

TABLE 6.7: Single clause utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 2	1	4	3
Exercise 5		24.88	8.82		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
"	2	24.78	11.30				n.s.
"	1	21.57	10.37				
"	4	18.88	5.03				
"	3	18.43	9.32				

TABLE 6.8: Multi-clause utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 1	2	4	3
Exercise 5		18.00	16.75		n.s.	1.89 ¹	1.94 ¹
"	1	16.14	8.73	-	2.192	2.85 ³	3.04 ³
"	2	8.78	4.58		-	n.s.	n.s.
"	4	6.50	3.74			-	n.s.
"	3	5.43	3.31				-

TABLE 6.9: All clause only utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 1	2	4	3
Exercise 5		44.13	14.06	n.s.	1.83 ¹	3.40 ⁴	3.16 ⁴
"	1	37.71	12.28	-	n.s.	2.46 ²	2.30 ²
"	2	33.56	9.60		-	n.s.	1.96 ¹
"	4	25.38	6.74			-	n.s.
"	3	23.86	10.12				-

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TABLE 6.10: Single mixed utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 1	3	5	4
Exercise 2		10.78	3.90				n.s.
" 1		9.29	7.48				n.s.
" 3		8.57	5.71				n.s.
" 5		8.25	3.45				
" 4		8.00	4.57				

TABLE 6.11: Multi-mixed utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 5	3	4	2
Exercise 1		20.00	18.84		n.s.	n.s.	1.89 ¹
" 5		17.38	4.98	-	n.s.	2.58 ²	4.48 ⁴
" 3		14.86	12.20		-	n.s.	n.s.
" 4		11.38	4.34			-	1.75 ¹
" 2		8.00	3.61				-

(¹ t<.05; ² t<.025; ³ t<.01; ⁴ t<.005)

TABLE 6.12: Single unit utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 2	3	1	5
Exercise 4		62.88	8.74	n.s.	n.s.	2.05 ¹	2.57 ²
" 2		62.67	11.88	-	n.s.	1.83 ¹	2.30 ²
" 3		61.43	10.50		-	n.s.	2.06 ¹
" 1		50.86	13.79			-	n.s.
" 5		49.25	12.19				-

TABLE 6.13: Multi-unit utterances

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 1	3	4	2
Exercise 5		50.25	11.94	n.s.	2.08 ¹	2.50 ²	2.87 ³
" 1		50.14	13.36	-	1.87 ¹	2.25 ²	2.60 ²
" 3		38.29	10.13		-	n.s.	n.s.
" 4		37.25	8.63			-	n.s.
" 2		35.33	13.36				-

(¹ t<.05; ² t<.025; ³ t<.01; ⁴ t<.005)

First, let us note that of the ten measures, only two produce no significant differences. These are for single mixed, and single clause utterances (tables 6.7 and 6.10). All exercises, then, are equally likely to produce utterances composed of a mixture of a single clause and a single phrase, or of a single clause.

On each of the remaining eight measures, there is a statistically strong or significant difference between exercises 1 and 5 and the remaining three. In tables 6.4 and 6.6 we see that exercises 2, 3 and 4 all have significantly more phrase utterances than exercises 1 and 5. Table 6.5 shows that exercises 3 and 4 have a strong tendency to encourage more multi-phrase utterances than exercises 1, 5 and 2. In other words,

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exercise 2 has less of a tendency to encourage multi-phrase utterances, but overall, utterances made up only of phrases are significantly more common in all three exercises. This can be seen as consistent with the prediction that the two card game exercises and the map-reading exercise tend to encourage the use of proportionally more non-finite turns.

This prediction - and its confirmation - has as counterpart the likelihood that exercises 1 and 5 would induce proportionally more clausal utterances. We have already seen that single clause utterances are equally common across all five exercises. However, once again, exercises 1 and 5 show a strong and sometimes significant tendency to encourage more utterances composed either of multiple clauses, or else only of clauses. In particular, exercise 1 shows significantly more multi-clause utterances and exercise 5 significantly more clausal utterances (both single and multiple) than both of exercises 3 and 4. Exercise 2 shows a strong tendency to encourage fewer clausal utterances than 1 or 5. (It also separates itself a little from 3 and 4 by showing a slight tendency towards more clausal utterances overall than exercise 3. However, this is only on a single statistic.)

With regard to multiple mixed utterances - utterances made up of phrases and clauses - exercises 1 and 5 show a strong tendency once again to encourage more such utterances (5 more than 2 at $t < .005$). This is consistent with the prediction that exercises 1 and 5 produce longer utterances than 2, 3 and 4, and corroborates the same kind of result on the measure for multiple clause utterances.

Finally, on the measures for single unit and multiple unit utterances, results show a strong tendency for exercises 1 and 5 to involve the production of utterances with more than one phrasal and/or clausal unit ($t < .025$).

To summarise these results, exercises 1 and 5 show consistently more long utterances consisting of more than one unit, phrasal or clausal or both. In addition, these exercises show significantly more clausal

utterances. However, where phrases are used, there is a stronger tendency for them to be used to negotiate long utterances in these exercises. In contrast, exercises 2, 3 and 4 show the opposite tendencies: shorter utterances, consisting more often of only a single unit; and a significantly higher incidence of phrases occurring as utterances, either single or multiple. This suggests that these exercises tend to encourage greater use of 'satellite' units. This may indicate particular strengths and weaknesses in each of the two main types of exercises. The most striking feature at this stage is once again the way exercises 1 and 5 group together. It should be noted, however, that whereas on the measures of the amount of talk, exercise 3 resembled exercises 1 and 5, at least as regards distribution, on the measures of kinds of turn, exercise 3 groups much more tightly with exercises 2 and 4.

6.2.2 Discussion

Our predictions regarding exercises 2 and 4 were born out. In a sense, what our results appear to suggest is that there is a basic dimension concerning phrasal-clausal bias. Given a phrasal bias, it seems that utterances on a given exercise will be far more likely to be single-move. In addition, phrasal bias does not merely mean that single phrase utterances will be more common, but that multi-phrase utterances - occurring without a finite clause - are also more likely.

Exercises 1 and 5 on the other hand seem to encourage more clausal utterances, single or multi-clause. Because of this tendency, it is also predictable that the interactive nature of the discourse will cause some of the multi-clause utterances to become multi-mixed utterances, being packaged with one or more phrases. Cognitive complexity of utterances is also likely to be greater here since these exercises appear to encourage more multi-move utterances. Multi-move utterances, by definition, involve the articulation and coordination of more than one thought component, and this can be expected to be more challenging to speakers. We will note in the next chapter, however, that exercises 1 and 5 do not in fact require multi-move utterances: they can be negotiated using shorter moves if the participants so wish.

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Finally a comment is required for exercise 3. As we have said, in the matter of utterance distribution exercise 3 tended to group more closely with exercises 1 and 5, and this was perhaps due to the visual stimulus and the lack of a turn-regulating mechanism in the activity. With respect to utterance types, however, we find here that exercise 3 groups with exercises 2 and 4. In other words, distribution of talk is uneven, as in exercises 1 and 5; but, the utterances are more phrasal and more of a one-move type, thus resembling exercises 2 and 4 more closely. Why might this be?

We would suggest that the reason for the phrasal component is that the discourse involved in exercise 3 is more proposition-focussed. Speakers have to negotiate a lot of factual details on the map, both in terms of what details there are, and just where they are. The close cooperation of the participants is therefore necessary if they are to 'find their way' across the maps. This leads them to a phrase-by-phrase scrutiny of the information, producing sequences typically made up of moves like: 'feature - (check - confirm) - position - (check - confirm) - difference - (check - confirm)'. Although a qualitative discussion of the data (to be presented in chapter 7) reveals that this kind of procedure is also available if needed in exercise 1 (as we have already remarked, cf. section 6.1.2 above), the difference is that, whereas there are other procedures that are applicable to exercise 1, the map-readers have *no other* obvious procedure to use. Long utterances are almost certain to lose the listeners. For this reason, the phrasal component is likely to have a more important statistical effect in exercise 3 than in exercise 1. This then may produce the effect of uneven utterance distribution coupled with a strong phrasal element.

6.3 Syntactic units

In this section we look at the comparisons between the exercises on the final set of measures. Whereas so far we have been looking at amounts and distribution of talk, and types of utterances, in what follows the perspective is slightly different. Instead of considering the utterance types, we attempt to assess the overall incidence of types of unit, and

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of their syntactic distribution. It is perfectly possible for one exercise to involve more clausal or phrasal utterances than another, but for both exercises to occasion the use of no significantly different number of clauses or phrases taken overall. In such a case the language used would not differ in terms of numbers of units, only in their distribution. The specific measures used are for the proportions of: clauses over phrases; contact over non-contact clauses; interrogative clauses over all clauses; conjoined over unconjoined clauses; conjoined contact over unconjoined contact clauses; and repetition over the total of all units, phrasal and clausal.

Predictions once again suggested that exercises 1 and 5, and 2 and 4 would group together respectively as follows: exercises 1 and 5 showing a greater incidence of clauses; of contact clauses; of conjunction, and of conjoined contact clauses. Greater incidence of phrases in exercises 2 and 4 would be expected to imply: relatively fewer contact clauses; less conjunction; and for conjunction to occur in non-contact clauses. In addition, it is to be expected that activities 2 and 4 would elicit more interrogatives and more repetition (this last because question and answer routines would encourage the use of repetition both in the giving

TABLE 6.14: Clause units

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 1	2	3	4
Exercise 5		70.13	14.01	n.s.	4.11 ⁴	3.54 ⁴	4.95 ⁴
" 1		67.86	12.01	-	4.01 ⁴	3.40 ⁴	5.10 ⁴
" 2		47.22	8.63		-	n.s.	n.s.
" 3		46.00	5.73			-	n.s.
" 4		43.63	5.73				-

TABLE 6.15: Contact clauses

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 5	3	4	2
Exercise 1		73.14	11.92	n.s.	1.90 ¹	2.38 ²	3.25 ⁴
"	5	70.25	9.04	-	1.74	2.25 ²	3.23 ⁴
"	3	58.00	17.43		-	n.s.	n.s.
"	4	56.13	15.25			-	n.s.
"	2	47.67	17.80				-

TABLE 6.16: Conjoined clauses

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 1	3	4	2
Exercise 5	50.25	12.23		n.s.	2.37 ²	4.02 ⁴	5.15 ⁴
" 1	38.29	21.16		-	n.s.	n.s.	2.38 ²
" 3	31.14	18.69			-	n.s.	n.s.
" 4	29.25	8.28				-	2.08 ¹
" 2	17.56	13.74					-

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TABLE 6.17: Conjoined contacts

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 5	1	2	3
Exercise 4		93.13	5.57	2.72 ^a	1.94 ¹	2.31 ²	3.52 ⁴
"	5	82.00	10.14	-	n.s.	n.s.	2.32 ²
"	1	78.57	20.38		-	n.s.	n.s.
"	2	78.00	18.17			-	1.79 ¹
"	3	57.14	28.39				-

TABLE 6.18. Interrogative clauses

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 4	3	1	5
Exercise 2		32.56	22.30	n.s.	2.53 ²	3.11 ⁴	3.24 ⁴
"	4	25.25	16.71	-	2.18 ²	2.93 ³	3.05 ⁴
"	3	9.86	8.73		-	n.s.	n.s.
"	1	6.14	4.38			-	n.s.
"	5	6.00	6.35				-

TABLE 6.19: Repetition

	Ranking	M	SD	Ex. 1	4	2	5
Exercise 3		34.57	15.90	n.s.	n.s.	2.56 ²	2.57 ²
"	1	31.00	8.68	-	n.s.	n.s.	3.16 ⁴
"	4	30.13	16.15		-	n.s.	2.16 ²
"	2	24.78	9.28			-	n.s.
"	5	18.00	8.40				-

(for tables 6.14 - 6.19: ¹ t<.05; ² t<.025; ³ t<.01; ⁴ t<.005)

of answers and of feedback). The results of independent t-tests between the five exercises are presented in Tables 6.14 to 6.19.

6.3.1 Results: syntactic units

Firstly, significant results appear on all six tables. On three of the six tables, exercises 5 and 1 group together. This is for the incidence of clause (versus phrase) units; the incidence of contact clauses; and for the lack of interrogative clauses. Exercise 3 groups with 1 and 5 on this last measure - that of interrogative clauses - and with exercises 2 and 4 on the other three measures.

These three sets of results accord with expectations: higher MLU's and a greater tendency for the use of multi-clause or multi-mixed utterances led us to expect a correspondingly greater overall incidence of clauses; more contact clauses; and more conjunctions. The question-answer structure of exercises 2 and 4 would similarly lead to a prediction of fewer clausal interrogatives in exercises 1, 5 and 3, and this is borne out by these results.

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In addition, on the figure representing the incidence of conjunction in clauses, exercise 5 has a significantly higher score than the four other exercises, and exercise 2 shows a markedly lower score. Exercises 1, 3 and 4, however, do not produce significantly different results. This is interesting because it suggests a subsidiary difference in the two main groupings that have emerged. Exercise 1 may show less conjunction than 5 because whereas some groups produce significantly longer utterances in 1, others, proceeding on a feature-by-feature basis, use far shorter utterances.

On the other hand, exercises 3 and 4 seem to show more conjunction than 2. This may be because whereas exercise 2 basically involves yes/no questions of a classifying nature which therefore are likely not to exploit relatives, this is not the case in exercises 3 and 4. Relatives are likely to be important for the definitions of exercise 4, and for the descriptive location of features on the maps in exercise 3. (This is discussed further in chapter 9 below.)

On two further measures however our two principal groupings are not supported. These are for the incidence of conjunction in contact clauses, and the incidence of repetition.

On the measure for conjunction in contact clauses, exercise 4 separates from the other four exercises, having significantly more conjunction in contact clauses than exercises 5 ($t < .01$), 1 ($t < .05$), 2 ($t < .025$) and 3 ($t < .005$). Exercises 5, 1, 2 and 3 do not differ significantly from each other, although exercise 3 does show a tendency to encourage less conjunction in contact clauses than exercise 5 ($t < .025$). That is, distribution of conjunctions is not markedly biased either towards contact or non-contact clauses as regards these four exercises. This is contrary to expectation, since it was expected that in exercises 1 and 5 conjunction would tend to occur significantly more in contacts, given that utterances tend to be longer in these exercises. The tendency for 3 to show less use of conjunction in contact clauses provides only weak support for the original hypothesis.

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The figures for repetition are also slightly different from the others. Exercise 5 alone shows a strong or significant tendency not to use repetition, having less than exercises 3 ($t < .025$), 1 ($t < .005$) and 4 ($t < .025$). The figure for exercise 2 suggests a tendency to resemble 5 in this respect.

Tabulating the differences between the exercises on these measures we find the following tentative summary:

a) Picture-story characteristics (exercises 5, and 1)

	HIGH	MID	LOW
Clausal units	1, 5 (60%+)		2,3,4 (50%-)
Contact clauses	1, 5 (70%+)	2,3 (50-60%)	4 (50%-)
Conjoined clauses	5 (50%+)	4,3,1 (25-40%)	2 (20%-)
Conjoined non-contrs.	3 (40%+)	1,2,5 (10-30%)	4 (10%-)

b) Card game characteristics (exercises 4, and 2)

	HIGH	MID	LOW
Phrasal units:	2,3,4 (50%+)		1, 5 (40%-)
Non-Contact cls:	4 (50%+)	2,3 (40-50%)	1, 5 (30%-)
Unconjoined cls:	2 (80%+)	4,3,1 (60-75%)	5 (50%-)
Conjoined contacts:	4 (90%+)	1,2,5 (70-90%)	3 (60%-)
Interrog. clauses:	2,4 (25%+)		1,3,5 (10%-)
Repetition:	1,2,3,4 (24%+)		5 (20%-)

It should be said that the terms 'high' and 'low' are merely convenient labels. They reflect significant differences and marked trends as detected on the t-test. It may of course later turn out that in comparison with other samples of discourse all these levels are generally high - rendering the term 'low' inappropriate. In addition, it is worth stressing that inclusion of the term 'mid' highlights that the analysis reflects gradients, rather than sharp cut-off points. It does however show some interesting features, such as for example that even interrogatives only reach a mean incidence of 32.5% of all clauses in

the activity which encourages the highest use of this form. Clearly, if this is a typical figure for the incidence of interrogatives on tasks like these, the label 'high' has to be understood for the particular measure and the context which it is applied to.

What however of the status of exercise 3 on the basis of these measures? Firstly, exercise 3 does group with exercises 2 and 4 on three of the six tables. It scores low on the measure for conjoined contacts (table 7d). It groups with 1 and 5 only on the score for interrogatives. The one notably high score is for repetition. Here it bunches with exercises 1 and 4. This we thus identify as a characteristic of the detailed matching tasks. Exercise 3 typically produces fewer clauses, contact clauses, and conjoined clauses and conjoined contacts. Conjunction seems to occur a bit more often in utterance initial clauses. It produces fewer interrogatives, and more repetition. These may conceivably all be characteristics of detailed matching tasks.

6.3.2 Discussion: syntactic units

First let us consider the differences between exercises 2, 3 and 4. The significant differences between exercises 3 and 4 concern contact conjunction, interrogatives and repetition. Exercise 3 has a significantly lower proportional incidence of contact conjunctions than exercise 4. This may be because in exercise 3 learners work much more closely on elaborating sentences, so that one utterance may provide the conjoined clause for the main clause of another utterance. In exercise 4, on the other hand, conjunction may tend to occur mainly in the initial clue or definition which the card-holder gives in his opening utterance.

Exercise 3, on the other hand, is, of all the exercises, the one most likely to find students composing sentences jointly (though this is true also for some aspects of exercise 1). This is because they find themselves often tracing or checking a pathway along the map with the help or confirmation of their interlocutors, encouraging the use of a frame-completion strategy. There is thus likely to be a bias in exercise 3 towards the occurrence of conjunctions in utterance-initial position.

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(The frame-completion strategy, a communication strategy likely to involve this kind of occurrence, is discussed below in chapter 10.)

Now we consider the features characteristic of exercises 5 and 1. These can be interpreted in the following way. Both exercises 1 and 5 encourage longer turns, and speakers need to mobilize more finite clauses in order to handle such turns. As a result, more of the clauses are contact clauses, and conjunction is more frequent. In addition to this, the business of coordinating or subordinating clauses to other clauses is much more likely to be the work of individual speakers in these activities. This is the case for exercise 1, (though apparently not for 5). Also, the progress of the activity does not depend on questions: the speakers carry out the descriptions or narrations, and other speakers add their information as and when it is appropriate in order to assemble a coherent account of their shared information.

Exercises 2, 3 and 4, on the other hand, involve a far higher incidence of phrases. This itself suggests that either there is more question and answer work; or far more frequent cooperative piecing together of detailed pieces of information on a bit-by-bit basis. As well as this, the lower incidence of contact clauses is likely to be related to the fact that utterances are far shorter.

The only measures to show some inconsistencies are those for repetition and for conjoined contacts/non-contacts. The figures for repetition provide an unusually distinct score for exercise 3 - setting it close to exercise 1 - and an unusual separation of exercises 2 and 4. One possible explanation for these results may be found in the kind of interaction which exercises 1 and 3 have in common. One noticeable feature is the fact that they both invite detailed point-by-point comparisons of the visual material. This may be a strong cause of repetition.

However, the case is not quite the same in exercise 4. The card-holder in exercise 4 is likely to use framing or defining strategies to elicit the target word(s). His colleagues are likely to repeat his opening in

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order to query, or check their understanding, or even just to give themselves time to answer. In turn, the answers are likely to elicit further repetition. A right answer may extract a full matching of stimulus and response. Alternatively, a wrong answer may provoke a repetition and adjustment of the stimulus. There is then a similar element of detail involved - the precisely right word being required for each card - but no need to relate each new response to a previous one. Thus the demand for precision is less strong in exercise 4.

The exercise showing a marked lack of repetition is activity 5, the picture story task. This may be thought to be predictable. The development of a narrative might be expected to involve less repetition than an item-by-item comparison, or a feature-by-feature map-reading activity. It was also predicted that exercises involving question-answer-response sequences would entail more repetition than exercise 5. However, repetition has been identified elsewhere as a classical narrative strategy. An alternative explanation therefore could be that it is less the nature of the narrative task which reduces the need for repetition here than the lack of detail involved.

The story-telling generally turns out to be accomplished in two phases: first a picture description phase, in which the objective becomes that of identifying the gist of the pictures in order to sequence them; and secondly a retelling in narrative form (these phases are analyzed in greater depth in chapter 7). Although these two stages may have helped to reduce both the inter- and intra-utterance repetition, the main reason for the lack of repetition may be the lack of confusing or ambiguous detail. Thus, the fact that the participants grasped the point of the pictures - and remembered them - with little checking may have considerably reduced the incidence of repetition.

Turning to the high figure for exercise 4 on the measure of conjoined contacts (ie utterance internal conjunction), this may be attributable firstly to the low likelihood for participants to produce utterances cooperatively (which is a strategy which can be expected to give rise to conjunction occurring in non-contact clauses), and secondly to the fact

that the general incidence of conjunction in exercise 4 is in any case fairly low (see table 6.16). The conclusion, however, is that one of the language skills that exercise 4 is likely to engage is that of producing structures consisting of a main and a subordinate clause.

Apart from these final two measures, the results fall into a clear and reasonably comprehensible pattern. Length of utterance, and syntactic complexity of utterance - in terms of proportion of clauses, of conjunctions and of utterance internal conjunction - seem broadly to cooccur. To use Chafe's terms of 'fragmented' and 'integrated' language (Chafe, 1982), features of integrated language would appear to be characteristic of narrative-descriptive tasks, whereas features of fragmented language appear to be characteristic of the question-answer games and the instructional tasks. We have however observed that fragmentation may increase as a function of the pressure to focus on detail, or of the difficulty experienced by learners who lack the experience or knowledge to handle the tasks with ease. This account permits an understanding of some of the effects of features of oral tasks on the language produced by the learners. In the next chapter we will look at how these quantitative results reflect the procedures learners adopted in response to the communication problems presented by each of the five tasks.

CHAPTER 7: TASK-BASED STRATEGIES

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter we observed how 'fragmentation' seemed to be a function of the question-and-answer games, and also of the instructional task (exercise 3), as well as of the difficulty or detail involved in the exercises. In order to obtain a fuller understanding of the students' linguistic interaction, we now turn to a consideration of the way the students performed the tasks. In doing this, one is studying the linguistic behaviour engaged in by learners in order to achieve certain goals.

Language has in the past often been viewed in terms of the formal patterns which are needed in order to approximate to native speaker performance. Formal linguistic studies may have good reasons for limiting their analyses in this way. Language in use, on the other hand, occurs as a means to an end. It does not occur merely as form, but as form serving goals. Thus the use of language involves choices. It is in this sense fundamentally strategic (see chapter 4 for fuller discussion of this point).

There are many aspects of language strategies that deserve study, but in the present work we limit ourselves to three main kinds. The most immediately obvious perhaps are the strategies which lead to the selection of particular syntactic or semantic chunks in order to communicate specific kinds of messages. These we will call 'formulation' strategies (cf van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, for a similar use of the term), and they are discussed in Chapters 8 & 9. A second kind of strategy which can be identified is aimed at keeping one's turn and structuring a message in it while one has the chance. These, which we will call 'turn structuring' strategies, are the subject of discussion in Chapter 10. Perhaps the most important strategies are those by which the speakers structure the task they are engaged in. These 'task-based' strategies can

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be inferred from the stages by which speakers proceed through a given task, and these are the subject of the present chapter.

There are two aspects to 'task-based' strategies. The first is 'staging', a term borrowed from Brown and Yule (1983a: 134). In their use, however, the term refers to the way in which information is linearised in actual utterances. In the present study, we will be using the term in a different way to indicate the order in which the content of each task is dealt with. Staging strategies will also be related to the degree to which the students focus on the details of the content to be transmitted. The second major kind of task-based strategy is that which can be inferred from the 'interactional structure'. We now consider how these manifest themselves in the five exercises under discussion.

7.1 Two main types of task structure

In the previous chapter we identified exercise 5 on the one hand, and 2 or 4 on the other, as most different from each other. Exercise 5 was a picture-story sequencing task. Exercises 2 and 4 were both question and answer tasks prompted by a card drawn from a pack. It might be useful to recall the principal language features identified for each exercise. These are as follows:

FEATURE	STORY TASK	QU/ANS TASK
turn length	long	short
variation in turn length	high	low
distribution of turns	uneven	even
syntactic turn type	multiclause	phrasal
move content of turn	multimove	single move
contact clauses	more	fewer
clauses vs phrases	more clauses	more phrases
conjoining	more	less
interrogatives	more	fewer
repetition	more	less

TABLE 7.1

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We shall now look at the kinds of structuring which are typically involved in the two kinds of task.

7.2 Picture-based exercises - 'Complete It' (Appendix A: Exercise 5)

In discussing the way the picture story was handled, first we consider the possible structures that can be used, and then we turn to a report of the ways in which the exercise was actually managed by the various groups.

7.2.1 Possible structures

In this exercise, the reader will recall that students have to pool their knowledge and then decide on the order of the episodes of the story represented by each picture. This could be schematized as follows:

Stage 1: Describe pictures
Stage 2: Order the pictures

TABLE 7.2a

A moment's reflection however suggests that this is a highly unhelpful summary. It does not indicate the processes followed by the groups. It implies that the pictures are merely described once, and then ordered without further discussion. It also suggests that it makes no difference how the ordering takes place - whether by everyone or just by one speaker. Thus it indicates no important differences from, say, a 'describe and draw' activity (see for instance Byrne & Rixon, 1979: 13-15).

In fact closer inspection of the transcripts reveals that these two stages may be complemented by others:

Stage 1: Describe pictures in random order
Stage 2: Suggest an order
Stage 3: Test the order
Stage 4: Summary

TABLE 7.2b

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The stages can be glossed in the following way. In stage 1, students take it in turns to describe their pictures, without attempting to order them or suggest an order. In stage 2, the question of the order of the pictures is raised and an order suggested. In stage 3, some procedure is used for deciding whether the suggested order works. This may involve a trial run through the story with individuals checking the coherence of the sequence. In stage 4, participants run through the story to check the order for themselves. This can involve turning over the pictures to compare the oral and pictorial versions of the story; it can involve a rapid summary of the story; or thirdly, it can involve simply enumerating once again the order of the individual pictures. Other shorter turns might be devoted to deciding who speaks next, in particular naming the person whose picture is next in the sequence, guessing the apparent sequence, and evaluating the sequence as it emerges on the second recounting.

It is perhaps worth noting that staging of this kind does not comprise components such as setting, characters, events and conclusion, which have generally been identified as making up narrative schemas or story grammars (eg. Rumelhart, 1975; Kintsch, 1976; Minsky, 1975). The reason for this may be that the problem for the students is not one of constructing a narrative, but of ordering the constituent episodes. Thus the elements of the narration (such as actors and setting) do not lend themselves to typical narrative presentation. This produces at least two striking differences: firstly, sub-parts of the narration do not emerge as significant stages in the problem-solving task. Secondly, stages can occur in the procedure which would not normally form part of a narrative. Thus in addition to requiring students to perform the narrative, the task also involves verifying information, and checking arrangements of that information. Sometimes the final check involves simply repeating the narrative, which suggests that repetition can be a means of 'knowing that everyone knows'.

In terms of length of turn, in stages 1, 2, and 3 speakers are likely to sustain turns as long as possible, within the limitations of what they can manage and what is necessary. This means that to give the essential

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information, some speakers might produce much shorter turns than others. In terms of distribution of turns, nothing need prevent the same speaker from taking charge of both stages 2 and 3 or 2 and 4. Indeed, a dominant speaker might well take control of stages 2 and 3 and, on receiving some positive evaluation from colleagues, repeat it himself.

Other variations on this procedure can also be used. Normally the task would be achieved using long turns. It is a matter for speculation how far the task can be broken down into short turns should one speaker need help from his colleagues in order to articulate the content of his picture. This occurred to some extent in the work of group E (see Appendix C, Exercise 5, Group E). It is intuitively likely, however, that in such a case, the able speakers would be even more likely to produce long turns, so accentuating the unevenness of distribution. This would further reinforce the pattern of such activities as being typically made up of long turns.

There are at least three potential variations in the sequence presented in table 7.2b. These can be schematized as follows:

- i) Stage 1: Describe and order pictures.
Stage 2: Test the order
Stage 3: Summarize
- ii) Stage 1: Order pictures
Stage 2: Describe pictures
Stage 3: Summarize
- iii) Stage 1: Describe pictures
Stage 2: Summarise

TABLE 7.2c

In variation i), speakers attempt to order the pictures as they describe them. This may mean either the first speaker being the one who thinks he has the first scene, followed by the one who thinks his is second, and so on. Alternatively, it may be that the first speaker starts at random, with succeeding speakers relating their scenes to one or more of the previously described episodes. Either of these approaches is likely to require a repetition of the selected order, to compensate for

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the memory limitations of the participants, and to check it against the pictures held by each student (stage 2). Stage 3, the summary, proceeds, as for all the variations, by providing a concluding statement of the group's decision.

Variant ii) involves hypothesizing an order without describing the pictures. This would have the effect that the resulting description of the pictures functions as a test. Variant iii) involves a description of the pictures, followed by a concluding summary of what appears to be the story. In this schema, the group would assume that the story sequence is unproblematic.

7.2.2 'Complete It': Findings

In the preceding section we reviewed some of the possible stages and sequences that maybe used for handling the task. Now we turn to the use of these features by the different groups. These are presented in table 7.3 below. This shows that six of the eight groups started with a straight description, picture by picture. Five of these then ordered the pictures, although in the case of group B the ordering was implicit,

GROUPS:		C	B	J	G	D	E
Type 1.	Describe pictures	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Order pictures	x	x*	x	x	x	
	Retell the story				x	x	x
	Summarise/check					x	x
GROUPS:		I	H				
Type 2.	Describe and order	x	x				
	Retell		x				
	Check		x				

* Group B's ordering was implicit and could be interpreted as a summary.

TABLE 7.3

since it took the form of a conventional narration. This may have been a reaction to time pressure, or else sheer impatience. One group (group C) was satisfied with the description without an ensuing narration. Of the

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remaining 3 groups, one group retold the story without a final summary. This may reflect an aspect of the power structure of the group: once the strongest member was satisfied with her own story, the others had nothing more to add. Just two of the six groups - not counting group B - added the final summary, one of them in addition comparing their oral version with the pictures.

A second type of procedure involved describing and ordering the pictures simultaneously, and this was adopted by two groups (I and H). One of these (I) stopped as soon as this was achieved, while the other group retold the story as a check, and then went on to compare their oral version with the pictures.

There are various substrategies which can occur in each of the approaches. These are integrated into a single list, which is presented in table 7.4.

Stage 1: a) Describe pictures

- b) Suggest order individually during a)
- c) Summarise descriptions after each one
- d) Summarise order arising out of b)

Stage 2: a) Suggest sequence

- b) Test sequence
- c) i) Disagree sequence, return to 2a)
 - ii) Agree sequence, proceed to next stage.

Stage 3: a) Rehearse story in sequence

- b) i) Disagree sequence, return to 2a)
 - ii) Agree sequence during a)

Stage 4: a) Summarise, or check with the pictures

- b) Comment on unexpected features in pictures.

TABLE 7.4

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In addition to these elements of the account it is interesting to note that when a speaker has difficulty in handling the task, the other speakers can use questioning techniques in order to get enough information to be able to complete the task (eg. groups E and B). This is facilitated by the fact that the other participants already have considerable information about the story and can therefore look for likely features in the missing picture. This is of course also related to the formulation strategies which will be discussed in the next chapters.

7.3 Picture-based exercises - 'Find the Difference' (Appendix A: Exercise 1)

As we have already indicated (see section 5.5 above), in the second main picture-based exercise, the groups were given two very similar pictures, and were asked to describe them in order to find at least three differences between them. This is similar to the previous exercise, in so far as it breaks into two distinct parts. In the previous exercise, the two subtasks were firstly, identifying the contents of each picture, and secondly, sequencing them. Each part could be elaborated in the event of misunderstanding or disagreement. Finally, the normally essential parts of the task could be complemented by two optional closing activities - testing the sequence, and summarising or checking the oral version. We will see how far something similar occurred in exercise 1.

7.3.1 Major approaches

In searching for the differences between two pictures, groups frequently handled this exercise also in two stages: firstly, they described the pictures, and then they recited the differences. In some cases, however, they avoided the descriptions of the pictures all together, and proceeded directly to fish around for details. These would of course be identified by the listener as either 'same' or 'different'. The approaches used can be grouped, then, into two major types: description-based approaches, and detail-based approaches. The description-based types are as follows (the letters A and B refer to pictures A and B; numerals 1, 2 and 3 represent details in the pictures):

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Description-based approaches

- Type 1** S1: Description A
 S2: Distinction B1, B2, B3 (eg. Group F).
- Type 2** S1: Description A
 S2: Description B - during which S1 picks out differences 1, 2,
 and 3 (eg. Group E)
- Type 3** S1: Description A
 S2: Description B (salient items)
 S1/2: Distinction 1 A(B), 2 A(B), 3A(B) (eg. Group D)

Detail-based approaches

- Type 4** S1: Item A1
 S2: Item B1 + evaluation
 S1: Item A2
 S2: Item B2 + evaluation, etc. (eg Group B)
- Type 5** S1: Requests information about item 1
 S2: gives information about item 1A
 S1: similarity/difference of item 1B
 S1: requests information about item 2
 S2: gives information about item 2A
 S1: similarity/difference of item 2B, etc. (eg. Group C)

TABLE 7.5

It may be useful to describe each of these types of approach in turn. First of all, it should be pointed out that in the case of description-based approaches, it appears that there has to be a second phase in which at least one of the speakers explicitly enumerates the differences. In the detail-based approach on the other hand there is no need for a full description. However, the detail-based approach may engender more turns, since there may be many 'misses' before a significant difference is found.

The type 1 approach involves one student describing his picture. At the end of his description, his partner then enumerates three differences which he has noticed from the first speaker's turn. This is the most economical approach in terms of numbers of utterances. However, it may demand greater fluency and control than other approaches since it involves no checking or confirming; and it requires good comprehension of the first speaker, implying both that the first speaker is clear in

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his choice of words and also that the second speaker is a confident listener.

The second procedure is similar to the first one. However, the second speaker, instead of picking out the differences in his picture on the basis of what the first speaker says, provides his own description, leaving it up to the first speaker, or relying on a process of negotiation between the two of them, to identify the differences. This is a more circumspect approach. It would appear that although it generates more language than the previous procedure, in fact this compensates for a lack of confidence on the part of the two speakers in each other's ability to express themselves and comprehend each other.

Procedure type three involves more redundancy. The second speaker picks out the relevant differences. However, the contrast between the two pictures has not been made explicit, so that both speakers then need to make the three contrasts explicitly, one speaker reiterating his feature, and the other then restating his own.

In procedure four, one speaker identifies individual features in his picture, one at a time, to which the other student replies by stating his corresponding feature. Similarities or differences are then evaluated before moving on to the next feature. They continue in this fashion until the three differences have been found. Clearly this will generate far more utterances than the previous approaches. However, the utterances will be short, and thus easier to process both for speaker and listener.

Finally, procedure five can be seen as related to procedure four. One speaker names or draws attention to a feature in his picture. The other then comments on that feature in his picture (for instance, saying whether he has it, and what it looks like). The first speaker (A) then states whether his feature is the same as what the second speaker (B) has reported. In this case A directs the proceedings but at the same time avoids any complex use of language by leaving the substantial statements to B. If A should need to make a similar statement, this

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procedure has the added advantage from his point of view of enabling him to use B's utterance as a model.

Two groups produce an approach which is a hybrid of the two main types, and this is represented in table 7.6. This sequence may appear at first sight to resemble the type 3 approach. However, whereas in type 3 the enumeration of the differences can arise directly from the descriptions, in type 6, the descriptions are a kind of preliminary which absorbs the attention of the students as speakers but not as listeners. As a result, after the descriptions, they then have to start searching once again for the differences, as if they were following a detail-based approach. This may arise where learners are more used to using the language for display purposes than for interaction.

Type 6	S1: Description A	
	S2: Description B	
	S1/2: Distinction 1AB	
	S2/1: Confirmed/Negated	
	S1/2: Distinction 2AB	
	S2/1: Confirmed/Negated	
	S1/2: Distinction 3AB	
	S2/1: Confirmed/Negated	(eg. Groups J,A)

TABLE 7.6

It should be pointed out that the terms in which the task structures have been described provides an indication of the way the interaction tends to be structured. Thus 'descriptive' turns tend on the whole to involve long chunks of production. Itemised distinctions, as in type 3, involve a considerable number of contrastive repetitions and cooperatively completed turns. Detail-based approaches, on the other hand, involve short question-answer, or direct-inform-evaluate sequences (eg. group C) which often closely resembled the interaction structure of the card-based exercises (see below, sections 7.5 and 7.6).

Finally, it is worth remarking on the fact that the strongest groups, (D, E, F) used description-based approaches, while the weakest groups (B and C) used detail-based approaches. The two groups adopting a hybrid approach were of mixed level.

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7.3.2 Pictured-based exercises: conclusions

It is worth pointing out at this stage a striking difference between the two tasks in terms of how they can be structured. In the picture story extended descriptions are preferred, perhaps because they recount an event. They are only avoided when a speaker has serious difficulty in producing his description and needs help from his colleague (by getting him to produce an account of his picture detail by detail, as in group B). In the picture-comparison, on the other hand, there is no need for a synthetic description: the details can be picked out at leisure one at a time without the interlocutors having any clear idea of the overall extent of the similarities and differences between the pictures. It will be recalled that in the previous chapter we noted more short utterances and more phrases in the picture-comparison task than in the picture-story task: the reason may well be that substantially more of the interaction in the picture-comparison is detail-based.

7.4 Picture-based exercises - 'Complete the Map' (Appendix A Exercise 3)

The next exercise to be discussed is an information-gap task in which students each have different versions of a map, and exchange information so that each can complete his own version. In many respects, this exercise resembles exercise 1 ('Find the difference'): students had to exchange information without seeing each others' maps; some information was present from the start on both maps, so that participants had some common reference points; and there was plenty of scope for the participants to set their own sub-goals and modes of interacting. In this respect, exercise 3 had far more in common with exercises 1 and 5 than with exercises 2 and 4.

The results of the statistical analysis however (reported in chapter 6) showed that in one or two respects the language produced in exercise 3 resembled that of exercises 2 and 4. In particular, utterances were conspicuously shorter in exercise 3, and there were more non-finite fragments and unfinished framing utterances than in exercises 1 and 5. In what follows, we first consider the major possible approaches that groups can adopt. Next, we report the ways that groups actually handled

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the tasks. In section 7.4.3 we look at recurring features of interaction structure.

7.4.1 Possible approaches

There are two main options open to the students in exercise 3: either they can work through the grid reference, square by square; or else they can start from the geographical features. These two options resemble Pask's 'holistic' and 'serial' approaches to learning and information processing (see for instance discussion in Entwistle, 1981). If students opt to work from the features, two further procedures are available.

First, the group may simply follow the features across the map, checking either side of the principal roads, rivers and railways, to see that nothing is missed. Alternatively, they can work through the symbols in the accompanying key. In this case they would first check for the location of any woods, then for any buildings, then for any roads, and so on. Each approach would have its advantages and disadvantages.

The advantage of proceeding through the grid references is that this is both exhaustive and relatively non-repetitive. One disadvantage, however, is that one pathway has to be selected, so that an element of repetition cannot be avoided. (Either one works horizontally or vertically. In either case the speaker will encounter previously mentioned features overlapping from an adjacent square.) Also, and perhaps more awkwardly, working through the grid references is likely to make it harder to get a global view of the features and the way they interrelate. This may affect the precision with which new features are located, or the ease with which previously encountered features are recognised at later stage.

The alternative is to start from the features, and this is more likely to produce a global view of the topography, as well as establishing a common frame of reference for locating further features. On the other hand, in this approach there is perhaps a greater risk of the group missing some of the symbols. If, instead of this somewhat ad hoc procedure, students work through the features on the key, in serial order, they are then perhaps in the best position: for one thing, they

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have a means of checking all instances of all symbols; in addition, they can concentrate on building a picture of the lie of the land. Even so, one might suspect that the success of this approach may still be affected by the order in which the symbols are reviewed. Certain features, notably the roads, may provide a more useful frame of reference than others (such as woods, or buildings).

As a result, there are two main approaches to this task: firstly, grid-based, and secondly feature-based approaches. Within each approach, groups may follow a different sequence. We will now consider the approaches and sequences used by the groups, and their related effects.

7.4.2 Approaches adopted by the groups

Seven groups were recorded on this task. The approaches adopted by each were as follows:

- Group A - Grid-based
- Group B - Grid-based
- Group D - Feature-based
- Group E - Predominantly grid-based
- Group F - Grid-based
- Group G - Grid-based
- Group J - Mixed

In the case of five of the seven groups (A, B, D, F, G) a simple check over the transcripts reveals that groups A, B, F and G all proceeded from squares A1 to A5, and then from B1 to B5, and so on. Group D on the other hand had three negotiation sequences in which they worked out a procedure. They adopted the system of working from the key, which they then stuck to to the end. This is clearly observable in the transcript (see Appendix C), in which although the grid references are used, these do not follow in serial order.

In the case of the two remaining groups, E essentially followed the grid squares, but made brief incursions into neighbouring squares to complete the description of a feature. This at least reflects a degree of coherence about the descriptions (also suggesting a modicum of concern for conveying a reasonably accurate description of the elements on the

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map), in contrast to the inventory-style of communication of groups A, B, F and G. In spite of this, group E's approach was nonetheless 'predominantly' grid-based: they work horizontally from left to right, starting at the top.

Finally, in the case of group J the first half of the description is grid-based. After roughly a third of the description, however, the speakers continue to move systematically from square to square, but whenever an extending feature appears, they then follow it into neighbouring squares, sometimes moving right across the map as they follow a road or railway. Eventually they find themselves looking for salient features on their respective maps, and describing them fully to check that they are not missing anything.

The principal approach used, then, was to work round the grid. It is worth reporting however that the most successful groups were those which did not use a purely grid-based approach. In addition, only three of the groups actually mentioned the procedure they proposed to adopt. In one of these (Group A) the procedure to be followed was announced by the most assertive member of the group, and no discussion took place. In each of the other two groups, (groups D and E) there were at least two discussions: it is perhaps not just a coincidence that these are two of the groups which diverged from a grid-based approach.

With respect to the sequences followed by the groups, it would appear to make little difference to the grid-based approach which end of the map the participants start from. It is rather different in the case of the feature-based approach. Here students might start from localised features and, having established their position, then go on to situate the more continuous features, such as roads or rivers. Alternatively, they can follow the reverse order.

Logically it would appear to be more sensible to start with the continuous features. Firstly these are more likely to be generally shared between the two maps, thus requiring less work initially. Secondly, continuous features are probably easier to locate in any case, once a

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line is established across the map. In addition, once their positions are established by the participants they would serve as mutually known reference points to help locate the more discrete features (such as buildings or woods) (see A.Anderson 1985 for a similar point).

In fact, the one group to follow a feature-based approach worked on the discrete features first, and only later on the others. This could explain at least two quite extensive and taxing passages in which the speakers were involved in locating isolated features, and which probably significantly increased the amount of work the group had to put in. The task could probably have been accomplished more economically by adopting the reverse procedure.

Only group D actually completed the exercise. Since for practical reasons the time allowed was not rigorously the same for each group, differences on this were only to be expected. However, in addition to this it is clear that the only groups which transmitted a significant amount of information in both directions were groups D, E and J. Since these were the three groups which did not adopt a grid-based approach, this in itself may be significant. One might conclude that in terms of intelligent language use groups that explored the general shape of features as well as listing their grid reference were the ones that would turn out to be the more successful. Certainly on the basis of our sample of data this is indeed the case.

The recordings of these groups are both the longest and also the most detailed of the entire corpus. Thus a grid-based approach seems to work as long as students are merely checking off whether or not the same features appear in a given square on the two versions of the map. It may be for this reason that the grid-based groups tend to work with longer turns, possibly interrupted by very brief monitoring utterances. The other groups on the other hand tend to monitor the exchange of information quite closely since they are focussing on quite fine details of information (for instance, whether a wood overlaps into the corner of an adjacent square or not, and if so how far). This gives rise to much shorter turns: information has to be broken down into quite tiny chunks,

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and its transmission checked on a piecemeal basis. This contributes to the length and detail of the interaction. However, in spite of the fact that grid-based approaches tended to produce longer turns, taken overall, both approaches generally produced shorter turns than in the narrative or description tasks.

This may be because a map does not have the unity of a picture, or the coherence of a piece of a story; because the grid squares allow for rapid exchange of interactive roles (students may change from informing to eliciting in a far freer way than in the other two tasks); or because of the need to monitor for details quite closely. Arising out of this focus on detail, speakers may exchange information either through a series of questions and answers, point by point, or else they may build up a description of a given feature by taking turns to contribute bits of information from each of the maps. This is of considerable interest where we are concerned with understanding (and possibly engineering) different kinds of language practice. We now consider some of the interaction features which occurred in this exercise.

7.4.3 'Complete the Map': Linguistic interaction

It is not possible here to provide an exhaustive report of the way the exchanges were structured throughout this exercise. However, it may be instructive to consider some of the features of the interaction structure in the grid-based and feature-based focusses. We will proceed by quoting representative extracts from the data, and describing them using concepts common in the literature (eg. Coulthard & Brazil, 1981; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Varonis & Gass, 1985).

In the following extract, the students are following a grid-based approach in which long turns were the rule:

- 1) S1: OK . so we are going to start . discussing and comparing . from number 1 and the letter A . which is at the left side . of the paper . in this square . I can see . five tree five trees - - five trees and no woods woods OK . five woods and erm - and a line which could be - - - - a road - . which could be a road
- S2: where

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S1: in the first er square - square number 1 which has . a a letter A at the left hand - . so . in→ number 2 I can see - - - - I can see a→ . also a road . a road - - - and in line three - a building no . in the square . three I can see a building - - - - which is . intersected by a . road - - - in the square - number four - - - - I can also see - - - . a railway - yes . it is a railway - - - - which is also intersected by a road - - in a square - five I can see a mill - mill - . in the upper part . of the square - and also a road - - - - - - - - - - [...]
[App C: 3A,11.12-28]

The information is produced square by square, and feature by feature, with concern only to report the presence or absence of the feature. The listener may or may not be noting the features, and S1 is neither checking on this, nor making sure that her information is being clearly located.

Where the participants interact more, the turns are shorter, and the following kind of pattern develops:

2) 1 S21: in the third square n→ letter A we have . a building . and a road
2 S22: yes . we have a building too [S2: yes] and a roads crossing
3 S21: in the→ - fourth square . we have . eh - - two lines . like a river . and a toonel . and a toonel - - - -
4 S20: n our part
5 S21: ending in a bridge
6 S22: it's a bridge it's a bridge
7 S21: it's a bridge
8 S20: yeah we have a bridge too
9 S21: aha in the fifeth square we have - a→ mill . an→d a road
10 S22: - . we have in fiveth square a road - . but not a mill
11 S20: { 'n not a mill } picture
eh square six
12 S21: in square six we have - - - - - we have built-up area
13 S20: - build-up area
14 S21: yeah square six we have a - a short build-up area
15 S20: - - - - -er so we are going to→ do
16 S22: the line B square 1 - . line B square 1 what do you have [...]
[App C: 3G,11.25-45]

The information transmitted is similar to that of the previous extract, but with all three participants reacting to the information as it is communicated, there is more checking, confirming and contrasting. It is typical of the data for this task that informing turns receive further informing turns as responses, as occurs for example in turns 1 and 2, and 4, 5, 6 and 7. Turn 7 is followed by an informing reponse in turn

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8, and turn 9 is followed by an informing response in the first part of turn 10. The second part of turn 10 conveys contrasting information. Turn 11 presumably functions as an 'eliciting frame marker' (cf. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975).

Regarding speaker-roles, it is noticeable that elicitations can be made by any of the interactants, as is shown for instance by the fact that while S20 provides a framing elicitation in turn 11, S22 produces an explicit elicitation in turn 16. In addition there is evidence in turn 13 of one of the recursive elicitation features (here of checking) which are also found in other exercises (see especially the discussion of exercises 2 and 4, in sections 7.5 and 7.6 below).

The features of inform-inform sequences, and interchanging elicitation roles are also found in extracts from other groups. In reading the transcript of group G in 2), the observer has the feeling that the speakers are commenting in parallel without actually checking on each other's information and assimilating it in order to complete their own map. However, as the concern with accuracy of transmission increases, so does the incidence of querying and checking elicitations. While this is less common in group G, group E provides good examples of this:

- 3) 1 S13: what I suppose that we have to do is complete . OK . so
 . what I have first is . at the left corner [S15: yeah]
 at the top left corner - number one and A [S14: mm] I
 have . a group of - five trees
2 S15: - (cough) I don't have er- . five trees . in dat
 that square . square A1 [S13: mm] no I don't have
3 S13: you don't have that
4 S15: [I don't] have anythings [S13:mhm] - - these
5 S14: I think I have some trees - in the . square . D . six
6 S13: in square D six
7 S14: yes . that's at . at the right of the picture
8 S13: - D . six
9 S14: yes
10 S13: you have some -
11 S14: - trees . three trees
12 S13: mhm . aha
13 S14: I have three trees [App C: 3E,11.3-25]

Here turn 2 is a responding inform to turn 1. Turn 3 is a check elicitation requiring confirmation. The confirmation comes in turn 4, followed by another responding inform in turn 5. Turn 6 then consists of

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a fresh check, followed by a turn consisting of a confirmation plus a clarifying inform. Turn 8, a check, is followed by a confirmation, and turn 10, a query, by an inform. Turn 12 provides acknowledgement which confirms not only understanding of the information, but also signals by implication that S2 has the same feature in his map. In turn 13, S14 then reiterates the information. The final reiteration of information is a common feature in many of the tasks. What is interesting here is that the checking/querying exchange develops out of a sequence of informs in turns 1, 2 and 4.

Similar features occur in the following short extract from the same group. Turn 2 is an inform responding to the inform in turn 1:

- 4) 1 S13: the top we have . 1A er I have - a group of five - trees
2 S14: I don't have anything
3 S13: you have - you→ miss the trees you don't have the trees
4 S15: no . don't have
5 S13: you don't have the . those trees [App C: 3E,11.36-40]

Turn 3 is then a checking elicitation requiring dis/confirmation. Turn 5 consists of a reacting response from the receiver of the information. This parallels the final turn in the preceding extract, in which the giver of the information concluded with a reiterating inform.

A final lengthy extract, extract 5, will serve to exemplify some of the principal features of the interaction that occur in the data for this exercise. It demonstrates once again how elicitation roles may change; how an inform can receive a further inform as a response; and how, where detailed information is being negotiated between the speakers, there is often a substantial amount of echoic reaction on the part of the recipient of the information. The extract is produced by a group which have been identified as using a mixed focus, and as the sequence unfolds, the speakers move from initially focussing on the grid reference to close concern with the feature that they are locating.

It is also worth noting that in this extract, in terms of cognitive processes, both speaker and hearer are actually engaged in a very similar task, namely that of locating a feature: the speaker is attempting to provide the location in language, which involves him in

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working out for himself precisely where the feature is in linguistic terms; meanwhile the listener is attempting to make precisely the same relations between language and the map, only this time in order to mark the position with his pencil. Thus here both listening and speaking are very similar cognitive tasks.

- 5) 1 S33: OK . and what about number one B [S32: one B]
 2 S30: one B has got a little . built-up area to the left
 bottom corner of the square
 3 S33: one B
 4 S30: yes one B
 5 S32: one B
 6 S33: yeah yeah
 7 S30: [a] little built-up area . built-up area
 8 S33: er we don't have in our map
 9 S30: [at the] bottom left of the
 square . bottom corner left of the square
 10 S33: [yes i is] the→ beginning of a→ of a
 built-up area
 11 S30: built-up area er . begins at the corner left corner
 12 S33: left corner
 13 S30: bottom
 14 S33: bottom
 15 S30: of B
 16 S33: of B
 17 S30: and it continues up . to . the . bottom left corner of C
 . it is like a semicircle
 18 S33: OK . eh . in the middle of the→ square 1B is a→ is there
 a building
 19 S30: no
 20 S32: no no
 21 S33: ah yah OK you you have to draw one building [S1: mhm] in
 the middle part of the square
 22 S30: in the centre part
 23 S33: yes in the centre part of B [S1: aha] like a horizontal
 [S32/S30: horizontal] horizontal building
 24 S30: aha [App C: 3J,11.233-72]

Through the majority of this transaction S30 is predominantly involved in providing various kinds of inform moves. This can be traced through turns 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17 and 19. S33 on the other hand is - up to and including turn 18 - involved in elicitations and reacts. The main elicitations are in turns 1, 10 and 18. Subsidiary querying elicitations are in turns 3 and 5. In turn 8, S2 provides an informing move which has the effect of justifying an ensuing detailed description from S30. S33's following moves in turns 12, 14 and 16 are all responding reacts, or possibly acknowledgements, and it is striking here how much

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meaningful repetition is taking place as S33 follows the information bit by bit on his own map.

S33's elicitation in turn 18 obtains a responding inform from S30 and S32, which then enables S33 to respond to this with a further inform. At this point the roles are reversed, and S30 then provides responding checks while S33 furnishes the necessary information.

Once again, then, there is not merely a symmetry deriving from the complementary speech roles of the speakers, but also a symmetry arising out of the very similar types of speech acts engaged by the two participants. This symmetry is if anything heightened by the fact that either speaker can adopt the eliciting role at different points of the sequence.

7.4.4 Summary

In this section we have seen that the principal features of interaction to be found in exercise 3 are the following:

- variation in speaker role;
- back-to-back informing moves;
- many checking elicitations;
- responding reacts (or reiterations).

In many respects these features resemble the interaction in exercise 1. However, the incidence of these moves is far greater in exercise 3, especially where the groups focus on features, as opposed to the grid-references. It may be because of the fact that participants are focussing on detailed information, which has to be conveyed item by item, that the interaction that occurs in this task encourages more shorter turns than in exercises 1 and 5. In addition, this also encourages them, as in extract 5, to use a considerable proportion of phrasal, as well as clausal turns (eg. lines 3-6, 10-16, and 22-24). At the same time this tendency also gives rise to a general reduction in the number of moves speakers tend to make in a single turn. As a result of this, the discourse produced by the students here resembles more closely that of exercises 2 and 4.

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The reason for the shape of the interaction may be related to the communicative focus adopted by the groups, along with the kinds of staging that they find themselves following. After all, the students do not select an interaction structure for aesthetic or dramatic reasons: rather, the structure of the interaction arises out of the strategic requirements of the participants as they attempt to resolve the problems posed by the task. What they are focussing on is the language as a means to that end. We will return to consider the syntax of the interaction in this task in the next chapter. First, however, we discuss the task strategies used in exercises 2 and 4.

7.5 Card-based exercise - Guess my Nationality (Appendix A: Exercise 2)

So far we have been looking at what we have called 'picture-based' exercises. We now turn to the second broad type of activity, namely card-based exercises. The first of these is the guessing game 'Guess my nationality' (Appendix A, exercise 2). Here, the task structure is largely determined by the rules of the game. A student has to draw a card which bears the name of a country; the others ask questions in order to guess the name. When they have guessed correctly, another learner draws a card and the same cycle starts again.

7.5.1 Interaction structure

The activity entails an interaction structure, based on a limited number of stages. What stages does this consist of? At first sight, the only possible procedure is the following:

- Stage 1: draw card
- Stage 2: ask question/ guess
- Stage 3: answer

This is a basic structure. It is basic in the sense that the three elements are necessary - and sufficient - for the activity to be completed. At the same time it will usually be embellished by further elements.

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It can be termed a 'structure' in so far as there is a dependency relation between the parts. Stages 2 and 3 presuppose stage 1; stage 2 requires stage 3, and the stages must occur in that sequence. Stage 1 however only occurs once in any one enactment of the game. It is a precondition for the game, but not the catalyst of a particular question. Stages 2 and 3 may recur, therefore, but stage 1 does not recur until the question has correctly named the country. If the name of a country is followed by a closing affirmative response this will be recognised as final. For this - and any other - stage 3 response to be 'felicitous', the cardholder must answer the question in stage 2, in the light of the information on the card in stage 1. This obviously involves the relatively simple cognitive task of decoding the sense of the question in 2, comparing this with the name of the country or with relevant schematically associated information, and producing one of a limited number of response types (the tokens that may be used are potentially more numerous, but are also limited in number).

As in most other forms of discourse, then, the realisation of a given subpart may be influenced by previous occurrences of the parts (compare for example the teacher's socratic questioning of a class, to which the game under discussion here bears certain resemblances). Thus speakers producing a stage 2 must take into account preceding occurrences of stages 2 and 3 (eg. to avoid asking a question the answer to which was implied in an earlier reply). Speakers producing a stage 3 need not make the same back reference, although certain standards of 'active', 'coherent' or 'intelligent' participation may require them to do so also. They do however have to refer to the question and the information on the card before selecting the appropriate response.

The activity consists of an essentially interpersonal cognitive transaction. It provides a structure which may be realised in different ways.

Peters (1983) terms such structures 'routines' (see also Bruner, 1983 for a similar concept which he calls 'formats') and suggests that for language learning purposes, they need to have both a static and a

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dynamic dimension. Whether or not that is so, this particular activity combines both features. The basic structure itself is static. The possibility of variation in the kinds of realisation provides a dynamic aspect. In addition, as we have just pointed out, such variations may, surprisingly perhaps, take on a non-transactional form.

In exercise 2, the utterances tend to be short. Stage 3 can be particularly short, consisting for instance of a confirmatory repetition of the question-focussed NP; of a similar repetition prefaced by 'no'; or just of 'yes' or 'no'. In addition, however, the questions too can be shorter than full questions once the question frame is clearly established in the discourse, for instance 'Continent?', 'Germany?' 'In Europe or Asia?'.

Although this basic sequence which we have outlined is sufficient for the activity to proceed to a conclusion, there are other variant sequences which may occur around many of the components of the format. This is principally because, like any format, the format itself, and the language it contains, may become the focus of further interaction. The main types are as follows:

- Stage 1
 - a) indicate who is to draw card
 - b) draw card
 - c) check readiness
 - d) indicate readiness
- Stage 2
 - a) questioner asks question
 - b) cardholder evaluates question:
 - check own understanding
 - question the question
 - ask for clarification
 - comment on the question
 - c) questioner responds:
 - confirm
 - correct
 - clarify
 - evaluates cardholder's response(R)
 - d) cardholder indicates understanding
- Stage 3
 - a) cardholder answers
 - b) questioner evaluates answer:
 - express surprise, disappointment
 - check understanding

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- ask for clarification
 - c) cardholder responds:
 - confirm
 - correct
 - clarify
 - explain answer
 - evaluates questioner's query (R)
 - d) questioner accepts answer
- (N.B. (R)= possible recursion)

TABLE 7.7

In addition to these moves, a speaker may also intervene in order to indicate that something is going wrong, and/or to suggest what should be done.

The reader will note that in stages 2 and 3 we have indicated the recursive possibilities of turns in substages c) and d). One implication of this is that, as we have already seen in relation to exercise 3 (see section 7.4 above) Sinclair and Coulthard's ternary structure (1975) does not always fit our data. In the data of Sinclair and Coulthard's study, the authority role of the teacher or doctor enables him frequently to have the last word, thus producing a ternary, or at least odd-numbered, canonical form for exchanges. The questioner is in a position to be able to evaluate the response. In our data, on the other hand, nothing prevents either party from intervening with an evaluation of the preceding utterance. This may have the further effect of generating a fresh account by the interlocutor of his intention. In addition, a response to an evaluation can itself be evaluated. (The b) part can occur in response to a c) part marked (R).) So although ternary sequences are possible, they are far from necessary (see also van Lier, 1983 and North, 1986 for a similar point).

It should be added that a finer grained analysis would be possible. For example, it is clear from the data that further moves may be generated around the first stage, during the decision about who is to draw a card. For present purposes however this serves to demonstrate the kind of communicative complexity which such a game can generate.

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The fact that there are a certain number of likely options should not be seen as implying that they are determined, any more than in any other learning task. They merely indicate the sort of response that is possible, the kind of texture that such a simple basic structure can give rise to. How then does the context of this kind of exchange differ from previous ones? And in the context that emerges, what kinds of content decisions do students have to make? This is the subject of the following section.

7.5.2 Problem-oriented strategies

In this task, there are absolutely no restrictions on the topic that questioners select, nor in the order in which they are mentioned, although as we have already said there may of course be some limitations such as, for example, not repeating a question already asked or implied by an earlier questioner.

There is however the matter of choosing productive questions, so as to flush out the answer as soon as possible. Productive questions logically tend to be ones for which an answer excludes the greatest number of possible countries. Thus for instance the question 'Is it a Muslim country?', if it receives an affirmative answer, rules out countries in the Americas and in Europe. On the other hand, a negative reply to the question 'Do the majority of its inhabitants speak Norwegian?' is uninformative in the early stages of questioning since it would rule out only one country. Thus the most potentially informative questions are those to which both 'yes' and 'no' would be equally productive.

A further feature of skilful guessing, is likely to include the ability to vary the area of questioning so as to tap the greatest range of knowledge, both in order to increase the chances of accurate information from the card-holder, and also to profit from the pooled knowledge of the groups.

One major freedom in this activity is in the lack of constraints on topic sequencing at any point of the discourse: it is always possible to introduce a new line of questioning without any preamble or preliminary

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negotiation. Thus people can follow their own lines of thought if they wish, while still being able to take advantage of previous questioning. This could enable some speakers to find participation easier in activities like this one than in description-based tasks, at least at some stages of language development.

In addition, the task limits the nature of the utterances and the nature of the speech act sequences. There is little room for the speakers to define or redefine either their interactive roles or their topics. Whereas in the description-based activities any of the speakers can make the first transactional move, and decide what part of the topic he is going to deal with, and how he is going to intervene, in the question-answer games on the other hand these dimensions are not so open. There are constraints on who can speak and what kind of thing he can say. In addition he cannot so easily obtain help for his utterance.

In these activities, then, although the speakers are not scripted, utterance-types are topically and interactively defined - indeed speakers are effectively even forbidden from going about the task as they wish. One speaker has to ask questions, while the other can only answer by 'yes' or by 'no'. Strategically therefore the scope of the speaker's decisions are limited. He cannot easily decide to divide the task up in one of several ways. He can only name a topic and phrase his question. It would appear therefore that most strategic decisions are likely to concern such matters as how he expresses himself and how he structures his turns. This we will discuss in chapter 8.

7.6 Card-based exercises - 'Ask the Right Question' (Appendix A: Exercise 4)

Exercise 4, 'Ask the Right Question', essentially involves a student asking a question in order to elicit a specific word or words from his colleagues. A student takes from a pile a card with a word or phrase on it, and formulates some kind of utterance which will elicit the word; this is followed by one or more short responses, which the first speaker then evaluates: when the response is not correct he either simply

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rejects it, or else he may repeat, or alter, his elicitation. When the response is correct, the evaluation is positive, and another student draws a card. (The list of words used for the recorded sessions can be found in Appendix A: Exercise 4).

Thus this exercise, like the second exercise ('Guess my Nationality'), is structured at the level of topic and goal: the topic is given on the card; the goal is defined by the rules which require the cardholder to elicit the word(s) by some verbal means. This goal has two determinant effects: firstly it conditions the form of the interaction; and secondly it constrains the nature of the speaker's communicative tasks. We will discuss these in turn.

7.6.1 The form of the interaction

The exchange must consist of three moves, occurring in the following order:

S1: Elicit
S2: Respond
S1: Evaluate

For example:

- 6) S26: how do you call the place . e eh where you→ take water
from
S23: a well
S26: a well [App C: 4H,1193-5]

The game cannot begin without an initial elicit; and it cannot terminate without a response from another student, which in turn has to be evaluated by the cardholder. This evaluation however can be silent, as in exchanges 7 and 8.

- 7) S23: who wrote Hamlet
S24/25/26: Shakespeare [App C: 4H,11.79-72]

- 8) S26: what's the sign that the boats make when they are in
danger
S24: S.O.S
S23: S.O.S. [App C: 4H,11.73-7]

In addition, more than one Evaluation may occur in a single transaction:

- 9) S1: what did you read erm . what did you every day in a
newspaper
S2: reports
→ S1: maybe

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- S2: what about news
+ S1: news . OK that's right . the→ right answer
[App C: 4A,11.13-19]

Apart from consisting of a confirm or disconfirm, an Evaluation can be omitted, but implied by a 'Redirect'. A 'Redirect' serves to provide a fresh Elicitation, and by implication, stands as an Evaluation of the preceding response. In a Redirect, the cardholder clarifies, alters or reemphasises the original elicit, or indicates in what way the answer is right or wrong.

- 10) S9: L. . there is one thing that mothers - or housewives
have to do every day - they have to
S11: they have to do every day
S9: yes
S11: clean the house
+ S9: well if you don't clean the house every day
S11: cook
S9: yes [App C: 4D,11.137-44]
- 11) S11: C. . this is a colour . a colour . women puts on their
lips
S10: lipstick
+ S11: no . the colour
S10: rouge
+ S11: but what is the colour
S10: red
S11: red [App C: 4D,11.121-7]
- 12) S22: how many parts does United States is divided in
S20: in . in fifty states
+ S22: you're missing one [App C: 4D,11.89-91]

The cardholder's two moves resemble those which, as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have shown, are typically used in many teacher-class exchanges (see chapters 9 and 11 below for further discussion of the relevance of this task).

As in the previous card-based game, there are variations which occur during the development of even such simple exchanges as these. They mainly consist of various kinds of optional responses to any one of the above three turns, and these are listed below.

1. a) Query
b) Check
2. a) React
b) Comment

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Query and Check are labels indicating responses designed to elicit some kind of information from the previous speaker about what he said. Query (see extract 13) requires a response which expresses information or clarification:

- 13) S1: what do you erase pens with
→ S3: what
→ S4: sorry
S1: what do you erase pens with in your notebook
[App C: 4H,11.53-6]

Check (see extract 14) invites a confirmation, or disconfirmation and possible correction:

- 14) S1: they are three words . three . words - it's very common
which eh which means . help when you are in danger
→ S2: three letters
S1: three letters or three words [App C: 4G,11.8-12]

Both Query and Check then are normally followed by a predicted (that is, an obligatory) response (see Brazil & Coulthard, 1981; Stubbs, 1983).

React and Comment on the other hand need not receive any further response, although they may nevertheless be the subject of a further response. Such turns may be collectively termed 'feedbacks'. Feedbacks (ie. unelicited responses) can in fact follow virtually any utterance. The occurrence of responding elicitation, or non-eliciting responses and unelicited responses provides support for the argument in favour of descriptions of discourse which do not merely account for preferences among sequences, but also allow for the recursive potential of 'side-sequences', particularly in view of the role that such sequences play in the negotiation of meaning. This is related to the discussion of 'conditional relevance' applied by Faerch and Kasper (1983b: 230-3) to the analysis of the responses of an interlocutor to an NNS's markers of uncertainty or improvisation in the TL. The potential for any transactional or interactional event (move, illocutionary or other effect, or formulation problem) to be the subject of further questions or comments would appear to be an area which requires the outlining of recursive possibilities rather than a finite set of exchange types

React and Comment, then, are relatable to the preceding pair of Query and Check. Whereas these last two elicit a response from the previous

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speaker either through grammatical means or else through intonation, a React may use some of the same tools of expression (for instance echoic repetition) but without any formal marker of elicitation:

- 15) S24: what do children do when they-'s parents . when their
parents buy them rollers
→ S23: rollers
S25: rollers they skate
S23: they skate
S26: skate
S24: right [App C: 4H,11.78-84]

Finally, a Comment consists of a description or an evaluation of the locutionary, illocutionary or perlocutionary effect of preceding utterances. It is distinct from an Evaluation, since an Evaluation only assesses the correctness or otherwise of a preceding utterance. A Comment on the other hand focusses on any aspect of the utterance apart from its truth value:

- 16) S9: L. what do you ah to→ to amend your mistake when you're
writing something
S11: eraser
S9: yes - - but . er there's another word for that
S11: mm→ . oh rubber
S9: mm hurray
→ an eraser was very good
S11: yes [App C: 4D,11.79-85]

Like all of the other optional expansions being discussed here, a Comment is a subsidiary, dependent move: a Comment by definition has to relate to some other preceding feature of the discourse - its process or its product. It would appear from the data that instead of being volunteered, a Comment may be elicited. This would require us to recognise a variant of the eliciting move: Comment Elicit. Clearly a Comment following a Comment Elicit is then not entirely optional (and would then be classed as a response). In contrast, any following

NOTE: In fact Widdowson's suggestion (eg 1984: 88-9) that monologue can be recast in dialogue form using intervening questions to articulate the coherence between one statement and the next could also be applied to dialogue: an Inform, or a Comment (which is being seen here as a dependent Inform) may or may not be Elicited.

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When not Elicited, the speaker (like Widdowson's writer) can be thought of as responding to an unstated question on the part of his interlocutor. This of course would not be without its theoretical difficulties, since it would involve positing underlying implicit questions to make sense of the discourse in a manner similar to the contentious positing of zero morphemes in linguistic description. If most spoken discourse can be followed without explicit statement of the implications of utterances, why, it might be asked, should it be necessary to also hypothesise further underlying utterances to account for coherence between real utterances?

Feedback would be optional, however. This is illustrated by the following extract.

- 11) S12: A. tell me a name of an animal who lives in the jungle
S9: a lion
S12: that's right
→ how did you know
S9: I have a sixth sense [App C: 4D,11.45-50]

S9's last utterance is a Comment elicited by a preceding Comment Elicit. Arising from their definitions, each of the four responses that we have identified can be followed by a further particular kind of utterance. The possibilities are represented by the b) element as follows:

- 1.a) Query
 - b) Respond (oblig): Inform
- 2.a) Check
 - b) Respond (oblig): Confirm/Correct
- 3.a) React
 - b) Feedback (optional): Confirm/Correct
- 4.a) Comment
 - b) Feedback (optional): Agree/ Disagree/ Mitigate/ Exaggerate

Any of these four first parts (marked a)) can follow any of the three main constituents of the exchange, that is they can all be inserted after the Elicit, the Respond, or the Evaluation. Once again, one notes that this richness of optional utterances distinguishes these exchanges

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from the canonical teacher-class type of interaction identified by Sinclair and Coulthard.

The recordings show minimal discussion of appropriate procedures. The only other element which occurs regularly is the following preparatory sequence:

- P1. Ask who is to draw card
- P2. Indicate who is to draw card
- P3. Draw card
- P4. React/Comment on card

Only P3 here is obligatory. All the others are optional, and although P1 must be followed by P2, this may be non-verbal. This account of the activity describes the framework within which the students find themselves working and helps to provide a view of some of the principal components of the interaction structure that occur in exercise 4. We now consider one or two staging strategies that occur.

7.6.2 Task-oriented strategies: 'Ask the right question' (Appendix A: Exercise 4)

We have looked at aspects of the structure of the discourse in the data in order to understand the nature of the interaction sequences which the activity gives rise to. However, from a language learning point of view, the main purpose in this task (as in the other exercises) is less to give students practice in assembling an appropriate exchange structure, than in formulating and expressing an appropriate utterance - or a sequence of appropriate utterances - in order to achieve a communicative goal. The goal in the case of this task is to elicit a word (or words) from colleagues. This poses certain communicative problems which can be resolved by a variety of strategies.

Strategies used to solve the problem of conveying a meaning without using the normal word have, as we have seen (see chapter 4) been called 'communication strategies' (although not in the wider sense of the term that we are developing in the present study). These are frequently seen as peculiar to L2 speech, and concerned with problems that arise when the speaker lacks a word. However, L2's also frequently lack the 'normal' word which the listener would use - indeed an L2 will often

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fail to access a word he himself would usually use (cf. Wagner, 1983, for a similar point).

In addition, the strategies involved may not only make up for deficiencies on the part of the speaker. As Tarone points out, they may occur when 'the speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure desired to communicate meaning X is unavailable, or is not shared with the listener' (1983: 65). This includes situations where the speaker knows (or suspects) that his listeners lack the necessary background or linguistic knowledge. It could equally well be argued that communication strategies are also continually involved in normal fluent communication in the process of negotiating one's meaning - finding out what is known and what is not, and using this knowledge to promote understanding.

This is of obvious relevance for classroom communication. Clearly, a teacher using the foreign language in the classroom should compensate not only for his own 'gaps', but also for those of his listeners. In addition, the gaps a speaker should generally allow for include not just linguistic gaps, but those of non-linguistic background knowledge.

Faerch & Kasper in their discussion (1983b:212-3) of Tarone's definition appear not to take into account the two points made here, namely that strategies may make up for the listener's supposed deficiencies; and that these deficiencies may be non-linguistic as well as linguistic.

In addition to this pragmatic communicative function, communication strategies may also have a phatic role. The listener will tend to expect some ability on the part of the speaker to comment around a topic, rather than name it baldly. In a sense, redundancy in communication involves providing 'padding', and filling out the discourse a bit. For one thing, redundant communication can serve to make more salient the relevant aspect of the topic being mentioned. It may also be used in order to reinforce interpersonal attitudes. Communication strategies of this kind then are not only used to elicit language items.

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To summarise, compensatory 'communication strategies' may be used for four main purposes. These include:

- 1) to convey a meaning when the speaker lacks a word, expression, or facility in using the normal target language form(s).
- 2) to convey an idea when the listener lacks a word or some specific kind of knowledge (as is the case with FL learners);
- 3) to produce redundant (extended/ embroidered) communication;
- 4) to exploit collocational relations to generate a particular response.

The task in question involves artificially creating situation 1 or situation 4. In addition it consists of embedding S1's communicative goal within an interactive goal involving S2: the fact that the communicative act which S1 is required to perform occurs as an elicit (requiring a response) is a further artifact of the interactional task. However, it should be clear from this account that the skills involved are potentially very useful, especially for foreign language teachers.

In this exercise, then, the communicative problems of the task could be summarised as:

- a) to formulate an utterance eliciting only the word on the card
- b) to remediate where the wrong response is elicited

This leads us to consider the main staging strategies that are used in the data, that is, how the speaker divides his task up into chunks.

7.6.3 Staging

For each of the cards in the activity, it is possible to produce an adequate elicitation consisting of a single question. Sometimes, however, speakers use a second or third utterance in order to elicit the word(s) in question. This occurs for two possible reasons. First, by communicating the idea in parts the student simplifies the encoding (and also possibly the decoding). This has been called 'decomposing' (Hatch, 1983). Second, the student may need to alter his elicitation cue in the light of the responses he receives. This we have called 'redirecting' (see section 7.6.1 above). We will briefly look at these in turn.

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a) Decomposition.

This consists of conveying the information through more than one utterance unit. It typically involves first describing a situation, and then asking a question:

- 18) S16: mhm mhm what large country in the world has a lot of states
S17: united states
S16: how many states does it have [Response= 52]
[App C: 4F,11.51-3]
- 19) S17: something that people used many years ago to pump water . it's made of rocks and it's under the ground [R= a well]
[App C: 4F,11.37-8]
- 20) S24: can't you see that box there with the cassettes . what colour is it [R= red] [App C: 4H,11.16-17]
- 21) S25: think about eh when you got all the money to rest to have a good time ah where do you go where [R= bungalow]
[App C: 4H,11.85-6]
- 22) S24: suppose you are in a hospital and you see different signs with some pictures showing something what do you call those signs [R= sign language] [App C: 4H,11.97-8]

Each of the examples 18-22 shows the speaker first providing background information, setting the scene, drawing the listener's attention to the topic, and then asking the specific question designed to elicit the required response. Hatch (1983) suggests that this device is used in foreigner talk to facilitate comprehension for NNS's. In the present case, however, it very probably also has the function of simplifying the task for the speaker. Indeed, it would seem likely that NS's typically do this when talking among themselves, as well as to NNS's, to simplify utterances which are semantically potentially complex. This is particularly striking in example 23):

- 23) S4: I'm going to ask you about when when you when do you listen to the radio for example and what happens for example yesterday it was an explosion
S5: yes
S4: eh what er and you heard and you listened to the radio what what do we you - think that is that [S2: erm] that what do you listen [App C: 4B,11.113-20]

It is noticeable that the majority of these examples consist of initial adverbial utterances, in which the speaker 'sets the scene' for the

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ensuing question. Sometimes however the adverbial expression is in second place:

- 24) S9: this is an action that you do when er for example you want to reach a thing that is so high and you can't I mean er if you raise your hand you can't touch that [R= jump] [App C: 4D,11.50-3]

In general, then, this is a strategy which is likely to occur if the speaker embarks on a lengthy exemplification (exemplifications are discussed in the following subsection). There are at least three other kinds of occasion when staging occurs: firstly, when the speaker wants to accumulate clues in order to be surer of succeeding:

- 25) S7: what do you eat ■ what do you get from the bees and you use as sugar what do you call it [R= honey] [App C: 4C,11.35-5]

secondly, when the speaker wishes to emphasise, or specify more clearly, a part of his initial elicitation:

- 26) S1: what do you read in the morning when you get a newspaper what do what do you actually read [R= news] [App C: 4H,11.28-9]

and thirdly when the speaker wishes to provide a preliminary model of the kind of answer he wants before making the crucial elicitation:

- 27) S13: fishes they swim
S14: they swim
S13: a fish [R= it swims] [App C: 4E,11.123-5]

In each of these cases, then, the speaker produces a preparatory, or follow-up utterance, so that the elicitation does not get too complex.

b) Redirecting (or amending)

There are cases where the elicitation has to be repeated for some reason, so that by the end the whole elicitation has been negotiated over more than two turns. Sometimes this involves altering the elicitation to provide a better clue for the addressee. The following is an example:

- 28) S17: eh what sign do you use when you are erm in danger
S16: what sign
S19: wait
S17: no let me do it again . ah - where you are sailing for example and you→ are going and your boat is→ drifting [SOS] [App C: 4F,11.64-8]

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In extract 28) the speaker simply fills out the illustrative situation, perhaps on the basis of S16's query, or S19's incorrect response. Where the response is mistaken or puzzled, the cardholder has to monitor his first utterance to see whether it needs revision. Apart from altering the initial elicitation as in the preceding example, the speaker may do one of the following:

- i) reassert or emphasise the crucial aspect of the clue
- ii) accept the reply as valid but simply 'suspend' it, ask for another word
- iii) rule out the semantically incorrect part of the response
- iv) direct towards the missing element

These are exemplified in the following extracts:

1) reassertion/reemphasis

- 29) S11: a colour women puts on their lips
S10: lipstick
→ S11: no the colour
S10: rouge
→ S11: but what is the colour [R= red] [App C: 4D,11.121-5]

ii) accept but 'suspend' the reply

- 30) S11: clean the house
→ S9: well if you don't clean the house every day [R= cook]
[App C: 4D,11.141-2]

- 31) S11: eraser
→ S9: yes but er there's another word for that [R= rubber]
[App C: 4D,11.81-2]

- 32) S20: help help
→ S22: [...]it's help sure but no exactly the word [R= SOS]
[App C: 4G,11.4-6]

iii) rule out the semantically incorrect part of the response:

- 33) S11: stretch
S9: n-o you have to- even if you stretch you cannot reach
this thing [R= jump] [App C: 4D,11.54-6]

- 34) S15: clapping
→ S13: yes - but . I I consider clapping just ike a gesture [R= jump]
[App C: 4E,11.60-1]

- 35) S16: mimics
S18: gest gestures movements
→ S17: no using words . what do you use to- [R= sign language]
[App C: 4F,11.97-9]

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iv) indicate the missing semantic element

- 36) S17: Indians
→ S16: er yes Indians but do→ they have a specific colour of skin [R= Red Indians] [App C: 4F,11.30-1]
- 37) S21: a candy
→ S20: no something liquid
S22: liquid papyajust
→ S20: no erm it's made from→ something very fr very sweet that ah→m bees make [App C: 4G,11.49-54]

It could be argued that the ability to 'redirect' your interlocutor is an important strategy for negotiating meaning. It involves exploring the semantic range of the concept to be conveyed, and scanning the semantic similarities or differences between the interlocutor's response and the speaker's intention. In this section we have seen how students engaged in this particular task might need to do this.

This section has also provided further explanation for the findings reported in chapter 6. The nature of the task is to elicit a word or words using a single utterance. Thus many of the utterances in exercise 4 are short, consisting of single moves. Only in cases of considerable difficulty does the cardholder stretch his utterance to more than a single move. This is even more the case where the responses are concerned. These are intended to consist of one or two words at most. Responses, and queries around the responses, thus tend to be single move turns. As far as the syntax of the turns is concerned, this is one of the main topics of the next chapter.

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed the principal task-oriented strategies used by the groups in doing each of the exercises. The intention has been to show that there is a connection between these strategies on the one hand, and the length and complexity of turns, and the texture of the interaction, on the other. The strategies that have been identified represent various ways in which the tasks can be handled by the participants. Two main kinds have been discussed: firstly, strategies

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oriented towards the information to be communicated, and secondly strategies for structuring the interaction.

With respect to problems related to dividing up the information, we found that firstly the tasks may or may not offer a choice in how to handle the information content. In the case of tasks 1, 3 and 5, the picture-based tasks, there were various sequences in which the groups could handle the information content. There was also a choice in the degree to which the students could focus on detailed as opposed to more general information. Where the focus was on detailed information there was a tendency for the turns to become shorter. Interaction sequences then involved more querying and checking. There was more exchange of speaker role.

In exercises 2 and 4, on the other hand, strategic choices were less at the level of information content. In exercise 4 the choices were largely limited to whether or not students broke down the crucial eliciting utterance into one or more contributory utterances.

In both exercises 2 and 4, students became engaged in interaction structures, which typically involved recursive questioning (queries and checks). Similar interaction structures were found in the data for exercise 3. We also noted a flexibility in the interactive role the students could adopt, as well as a variety of functions with which informing moves were used in exercise 3. In the cases of exercises 1, 3 and 5, a greater variety of interaction structures could be found. In each case, there was the possibility for much longer turns, as well as exchanges involving shorter utterances. Of these tasks, exercise 5, ('Complete It') was the one which elicited most long turns. However, the length of turn appeared to be affected partly by the level of proficiency of the participants (weaker participants would get involved in sequences with shorter turns) and partly by the degree to which the participants were focussing on detailed transmission and checking of information. This was especially the case in exercise 3, though it also occurred to some degree in exercise 1.

The relation between the card-based and the picture-based exercises, then, might be seen as one of inclusion: the problems posed - and the strategies which may be mobilised - in exercises 2 and 4 are included potentially in exercises 1 and 5. In addition, it is in the larger scale tasks (ie 1, 3 and 5) that there is a greater range for potential staging strategies. In all cases, however, the tasks require the students to take decisions in organising the information to be transmitted, and the interaction which facilitates its transmission. In the next chapter we turn to consider the ways in which the students formulated the messages in order to realise their communicative goals, and the nature of the resulting lexical and syntactic practice that they found themselves engaged in.

CHAPTER 8: FORMULATION: MORPHO-SYNTACTIC STRATEGIES

8.0 Introduction

In the hierarchy of decisions that speakers have to take in order to communicate, once the topic of a given turn has been decided - either for staging or interactional reasons - the main problem the speaker then has to resolve is how to communicate his message. This is perhaps the most central level in the hierarchy from a linguistic point of view. There are two main aspects to message formulation. These are firstly, morpho-syntactic selection, and secondly, schematic decisions. Morpho-syntactic strategies include the use of routine syntactic elements to structure or express an idea, as well as the stereotypic use of syntactic structures. Schematic strategies on the other hand include such features of formulation as the use of simile, the use of exemplification, reference to common knowledge, and the systematic exploitation of lexical relations.

Together, these strategies are specifically involved in assembling language forms in order to communicate meanings. Hence the use of the term 'formulation' rather than 'communication' strategies (cf van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983: 292-3 for a similar use of the term). All of the kinds of strategy discussed here (chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10) can be seen as in some way directed towards promoting communication. In the case of schematic strategies, what is at issue is the kinds of mediating schematic knowledge which speakers attempt to evoke in their listeners in order to be understood. The speaker appeals to various kinds of background knowledge, or to related concepts (such as superordinate class terms) so that through an intersection of references he can evoke the idea he has in mind. In morpho-syntactic strategies on the other hand we are concerned with the ways in which words, phrases or syntactic patterns are utilised by the speakers in order to encode their messages. The strategies do not involve schematic improvisation so much as linguistic improvisation and routinisation. Information must be encoded into grammatical forms, and particular exercises may to a

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greater or lesser extent encourage the use of routinisation (cf. Krashen, 1981, and Peters, 1983, for similar concepts). Information content is fitted into handy patterns which, once established in the group, become a reliable means of expression, a convention which can be relied upon to work unless the listener asks for clarification.

It is of interest to examine the use of these strategies because one of the most frequent justifications for setting language learners communicative tasks is that such tasks require the student to improvise linguistic expression in order to convey ideas (eg. Brumfit, 1984c). Learners are therefore encouraged to 'grope' for language, rather than to assume that they first need to learn the 'right' way of expressing the relevant ideas before being able to use the language. Thus, information of the kind focussed on in this chapter may help to understand more clearly the kinds of specifically formal linguistic practice that students can get in doing such tasks.

In what follows we consider the morpho-syntactic strategies that seem to be used in the handling of the five tasks. In the following chapter we discuss some of the more striking schematic strategies used, and the degree to which their use is encouraged by the different tasks. In both chapters, the discussion is qualitative rather than quantitative. Types of expression are enumerated and examples are adduced. Clearly this procedure is not intended to produce a statistically evaluated description, but rather to indicate the flavour of the formal language deployed by the learners.

8.1 'Find the Difference' (Appendix A: Exercise 1)

In this section we look at the forms which are typically produced in the course of the 'Find the Difference' exercise. This involves consideration of syntactic and lexical features through which the information is encoded. There will also be discussion of the formulaicity of the language used.

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In this task, the purpose is to identify differences between two similar pictures. There are three basic kinds of difference that can be found: firstly, presence or absence of a feature; secondly, locational difference of the feature; and thirdly, internal differences of the feature. This suggests that there are at least three typical pieces of information which may have to be relayed: what items there are; where they are; and what they look like. This gives rise to three important meaning elements that are likely to be encoded: some kind of existential expression; some kind of locative expression; and some descriptive expression.

8.1.1 Existential expressions

There were three main ways of expressing the presence of features. These were.

- i) there is/are
- ii) I have
- iii) (I) can see/ (I) see

In addition to these expressions, a further device was to use the simple verb BE between a prepositional phrase and the topic item:

S14: behi behind him is a young lady[App C: 1E,1.66]

The use of these expressions was, not surprisingly perhaps, very pervasive in this exercise. On the whole groups tended to re-use one of these expressions largely to the exclusion of the others.

The one group which, instead of providing a full initial description of one of the pictures, compared the pictures feature by feature, largely avoided checking first on the presence or absence of the features. Instead, either they produced a simple sentence in which the new feature carried the indefinite article:

- 1) S6: an old woman is waiting for someone - in the street -
no . that's OK [App C:1C,11.1-2]

In such cases often the other speaker simply responded by indicating a similarity or difference. Alternatively, the speaker presupposed the presence of the new element in a question, and the other speaker similarly replied by indicating that the feature was either present or missing:

- 2) S7: how about the lamp

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S6: we don't have a lamp

[App C:4C,11.96-7]

In spite of the fact that the use of existential expressions is highly predictable in this task, the extent to which these were used is nonetheless striking.

8.1.2 Locative expressions

Locative expressions generally took the form of prepositional phrases. There are two main sentence positions for prepositional phrases: either sentence initial or sentence final. In addition it is possible to use a sentence middle position. The most common position used in this exercise was sentence initial. The probable reason for this is that the prepositional phrase was generally used as a cohesive element, enabling the listener to situate the new piece of information in relation to what is already known. The new or contrastive piece of information was the person or object being introduced. At the same time, the production of the prepositional phrase in initial position in long sequences (as in examples 3 and 4 below especially) presumably also accompanies the initial eye movement of the speaker as he moves his gaze from one feature to another.

This can also be seen as a useful production strategy for the speaker, since it gives the speaker more time to plan the expression referring to the new element in the picture. There is support for this view in the accompanying examples 3, 4, 5 and 6.

- 3) S3: and the other picture I see - - erm - a room where the
man is running out - and - - - and through the window
I can see a man who is drinking coffee or tea
[App C:1A,11.23-6]
- 4) S30: to the right of the picture there is a stair [...] and on
the first step there is a bear [...] next to the lady
there is . a flower pot with - six . white flowers on it
- next to the flower pot there is - a lamp
[App C:1J,11.5-6]
- 5) S12: in front of her there is er- - - some kind of - er - -
erm - chair
[App C:1D,11.12-3]

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- 6) S13: and then [S14: right] er on the floor - - between the lady and the→ little boy [S14: yes] there is a er . I suppose . a sheet of paper something like that
[App C:1E,11.89-92]

By producing the prepositional phrase in initial position, the speaker may even be allowing the listener time to come to the speaker's aid and supply a relevant expression on the basis of the other picture. This seems not to happen in fact in the data under discussion.

Occasionally it happens that, instead of using the sentence initial position, speakers add the locative expression after the existential expression but before the new feature:

- 7) S10: then I can see next to the door a→ a window
[App C:1D,11.33-4]

Sometimes this can give rise to a considerable number of mid-position prepositional phrases:

- 8) S10: and also there is below the posters - on the - on the floor next to the wall there is a - suitcase and a umbrella and an umbrella [App C:1D,11.45-7]

However in our data only one student uses this sequence. This may suggest that it is an idiosyncratic feature which may occur when the speaker has not got used to the routine processing that is involved in the task. It could of course also arise as a result of L1 influence, although in native speaker oral English this sequence may occur more commonly than grammar books based on written texts might suggest.

In many cases speakers used locative expressions in sentence final position. It rather appears from the transcripts that this occurred most where speakers were introducing the prepositional phrase in connection with a descriptive predicate construction.

- 9) S1: I can see er a little girl - who probably - is inside - her house - er who is playing - with a bear - this bear - it has a brown colour - and - the little girl is sitting - in the - in the stairs of her house
[App C:1A,11.1-5]

In the first of the instances in example 9), the prepositional phrase occurs in a relative clause describing the girl. In the second case, the phrase occurs following a descriptive predicate verb, 'is sitting'.

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The different functions of initial and final positions are nicely illustrated by the following extract, where the speakers are reviewing the contrasts between their pictures:

- 10) S11: in mine she's sitting on a table
S12: in mine she's sitting in the stairs
S11: in mine there's a rug in front of her and in yours there's a
S12: er some kind of er chair [App C:1D,11.19-22]

The initial prepositional phrases serve to specify which of the pictures is being referred to; the prepositional phrases in final position on the other hand receive contrastive focus as a crucial part of the description. Description is the topic of the next section.

8.1.3 Description

Differences may be found not only in the presence or absence of items, but also in one or other of their attributes. Thus it is relevant to the task if participants provide some description of the people or objects which they find in their pictures. By description here we mean the use of language to refer to some movement, colour, shape, clothing, component, attitude or expression of a previously mentioned referent (person or object). Sometimes this is introduced as the predicate of a sentence (ie V1 + PP; or Vt + DO).

- 11) S13: one is running out . the one of the rooms with a handbag . another one is - erm - drinking coffee I think
[App C:1E,11.5-7]

In the following example there are two descriptions in the same utterance:

- 12) S14: the old lady is looking at the man who is leaving
[App C:1E,1.75]

Instead of a simple BE + Complement sequence, speakers in the data sometimes use the verb HAVE:

- 13) S14: the briefcase has er - - something written - London it says London [App C:1E,11.85-6]
14) S1: this house is very nice - it has rugs - it has . brown rugs- - mm - - it has - - - waste basket [App C:1A,11.5-6]

Other paraphrases for expressing this relation were also used:

- 15) S1: the stairs are also with rugs - with brown rugs
[App C:1A,11.39-40]

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- 16) S11: aha and the girl is without shoes and your little girl is with shoes and with socks . and my girl is with . pants - and your girl is with a dress
[App C:1D,11.155-7]

The extent to which this formulation is used is presumably a result of L1-based strategies.

Sometimes description is introduced as a postmodifying element following a complement of an existential expression. In the following extract the speaker is just starting the description:

- 17) S10: and then I can see a- buffet or a cafeteria there is a clock on - on the top - of the door that is open and a man is - getting away - through the door - he's running
[App C:1D,11.31-3]

The speaker focusses on the new feature - here 'the door' - introduces it, and then qualifies it as soon as it has been mentioned. The qualifying item then gets included as postmodification:

- 18) S10: then there's an old lady who's wearing a hat - carrying a handbag - wearing a coat [App C:1D,11.40-1]
19) S3: and the other picture I see - - erm - a room where the man is running out - and - - - and through the window I can see a man who is drinking coffee or tea
[App C:1A,11.23-5]

Identifying expressions are principally of two kinds. One way of identifying referents is to combine the locative or one of the descriptive features with the noun in a postmodifying unit:

- 20) S13: you have the man - drinking coffee [App C:1E,1.70]
21) S14: besides the man who is leaving [App C:1E,1.64]

Locative expressions are also used to identify characters anaphorically in the pictures:

- 22) S13: the one - in the window or the one
S14: the the- man er the man leaving the er leaving the office in a hurry [App C:1E,11.41-3]

8.1.4 Questions

Instead of producing affirmative utterances, it is possible to develop the interaction through questions. Although interrogatives were not much used in this activity, one or two of the groups, notably group C, used a remarkably high proportion of elicitations. The kind of

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elicitation they used most was the phrase 'what about/ how about' to introduce the new focus. Generally, as in the following examples, this kind of elicitation is used as, or leads to, an existential question:

23) S7: how about the rug - on the floor - do you have it
[App C:1C,11.72-3]

24) S7: 'n how about flowers . do you have flowers
[App C:1C,11.82-3]

25) S7: how about the magazine . do you have the magazine
[App C:1C,1.121]

This question type generally involves the definite article, as if presupposing the presence of the feature, and so naturally leads to a descriptive question:

26) S7: y how'bout the - clock . on the wall - what time is it
[App C:1C,1.20]

Questions also occur to elicit information about descriptive features:

27) S6: you have a - what colour do you have [App C:1C,11.77-8]

The only other group in which eliciting occurred to any notable extent on this task was in group E. Here a particularly cooperative and proficient student used questions to provide the focus for relevant information from a very much weaker colleague:

28) S13: how many ornaments do you have . on the wall
S15: er mer on the wall we have plate and - plates [S13:
ah! and - er it's a clock
S13: it's a clock
S15: [it's] a clock mhm bu - the hour - the hour - not
clear - it's very dark
S13: oh well I don't have any clock [App C:1E,11.158-66]

29) S13: what is the girl doing where is she sitting - mine is
sitting on a table [App C:1E,11.193-4]

Apart from Group E, it is again striking that this use of elicitations was adopted by just one other group - Group C, and they exploited it on practically every occasion. This phenomenon provides strong grounds for suspecting that even in unscripted fluency activities, there is a marked tendency, especially in less proficient students, to confine themselves to a limited repertoire of lexico-grammatical devices. We will return to this point at the end of the chapter.

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8.1.5 Expressing the differences

There are various ways used for showing the differences between the pictures. Most of them involve reporting the two features paratactically, and, optionally, declaring them different. This may be done cooperatively by two speakers, as the differences emerge:

- 30) S7: y how'bout the→ - clock . on the wall - what time is it
S8: the time is at twelve o'clock
S7: I got ten o'clock
S6: you have ten
S7: then we have two differences [App C:1C,11.20-5]

Alternatively it can be done cooperatively after each of the students has described his picture:

- 31) S11: in mine she's sitting on a table
S12: in mine she's sitting in the stairs
S11: in mine there's a rug in front of her and in yours there's a
S12: er some kind of er→ chair
S11: in mine - you can see some flowers
S12: right . in mine - about - er on the wall . you can see a clock
[App C:1D,11.19-24]

Instead of a cooperative piecing together, it can be done by a single participant who may be drawing his own conclusions from what the previous speaker had said. A little later in the same recording, S11 reports some further differences on her own:

- 32) S11: I have a lamp on the table which you don't have and I have papers and I have a telephone and the difference the first difference is the teenager girl - is - talking by the telephone [S12: right] she's - speaking over the telephone
S12: and I've already explained that
S11: aha and the girl is without shoes and your little girl is with shoes and with socks . and my girl is with . pants - and your girl is with a dress
[App C:1D,11.148-157]

There may or may not be some kind of subordination:

- 33) S17: all right . in my I have . some differences in between yours and my mine picture there instead of a five year old girl there is erm I think maybe a fifteen years old girl she's using a telephone but it's brown - the 'rm - there's not a small - t' erm a high table there is a very l low one with some flowers and a vase - with the flowers - a lamp a magazine - there is no basket there is a teddy bear instead of it and there is only one white rug on the floor [App C:1F,11.14-21]

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In the previous extract it is worth noting how the speaker, who is quite a proficient member of the group, varies the way she presents the differences. In lines 4 and 8, she expresses the distinctive feature in her picture, without bothering to reiterate the comparable feature from the other picture, merely using the contrastive 'but' to imply difference. This is normal enough since she is speaking with her partner who has the other picture to hand. However, she also makes some of the differences explicit: in lines 2/3 and lines 7/8 she uses a prepositional phrase introduced by 'instead of'. In lines 4/5 she uses the paratactic device of juxtaposed affirmative and negative sentences. This is an unusually varied use of contrastive devices. On the whole the students are more repetitive than this in the language they use.

Another speaker similarly presents one of the contrasts herself, although in this case elicits confirmation of the second from her colleague:

- 34) S9: OK so mine is very similar - but on top of the er door there is a clock also but it is not twelve o'clock right - it's just ten o'clock ten . yes - one difference - then - behind the man who is rushing out from the buffet there is another man - sitting - at a table d'you have that one
- S10: I have a woman - because it's it's got long hair unless it's a man and he's got long a little long hair [...]
- S9: this is a man because I mean he has the short hair short hair he seems to be wearing a suit or something the second the second difference now - [...]

[S9 now identifies one or two possible differences, which S10 turns down]

- S9: so we have two differences and the third one perhaps will be - in front of the boy the little boy who is outside [S10: mhm] below the window there is a piece of paper on the floor
- S10: there is isn't here
- S9: aha so I have one a piece of paper on the floor [S10: mhm] a sheet of paper in fact so I think that's it
- [App C:1D,11.104-110]

This passage is unusual in the data since it shows S9 researching the differences in three different ways. Firstly she picks up the first difference anaphorically as it were, on the basis of the previous speaker's account; then for the second difference, although she has

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spotted a candidate from what S10 said, she checks the validity of the difference with S10 ; and the third difference she seeks out from among possible candidates implied by what S10 did not mention.

A little later S9 reviews the three differences. Note how in contrast with the earlier extract from group F, in what follows S9 uses far fewer linguistic resources, even though the levels of proficiency of the two groups are very similar:

35) S9: so you have three differences the first one is a man
you have a man and behind her you have a woman behind
the man who is

S10: [a woman]

S9: rushing and I have a man the second I have a sheet of
paper on the floor and you don't have it - and the
third would be that in my clock it is ten o'clock and
in yours it's twelve [App C:1D,11.104-10]

The three differences are expressed by two pairs of conjoined sentences, in one case involving a contrast between affirmative and negative sentences (where the difference is between the presence and absence of a feature). This economy of means of expression is fairly typical of the participants on this task. (The question of the variety of linguistic resources that the five tasks seem to stimulate is taken up at the end of this chapter, and again later in section 11.2.1.)

8.1.6 Syntactic parallelism

Several of the recordings - including some of the extracts already cited - show a striking tendency to syntactic parallelism, that is the repetition of highly similar, or identical structures. This may involve repetition of similar utterance patterns, or similar predicate constructions.

36) S3: and the other picture I see - - erm - a room where the
man is running out - and - - - and through the window
I can see a man who is drinking coffee or tea

[App C:1A,11.23-6]

It can also show a penchant on the part of speakers for certain kinds of sentence structure. For instance the following speakers seem to use striking repetition of SVC and SVO structure:

37) S1: this bear - it has a brown colour - and - the little
girl is sitting - in the - stairs of her house - - -

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this house is very nice - it has rugs - it has brown
rugs - - mm - - it has - - - - waste basket

[App C:1A,11.3-6]

- 38) S2: there is a man running away of the room - OK er - in
the room there is also a window the window is open I
can see through - through it a man [...]

[App C:1A,11.11-13]

The second speaker then seems to indulge a marked predilection for
postmodification:

- 39) S2: I can see through - through it - a man probably -
drinking a cup of coffee or a cup of tea something like
that - and then I can see . out of the room a little
child that it's by the window - [...] and there is also
a woman - that is a stand - and is looking at the man
. that is running away out of the room

[App C:1A,11.12-18]

What the discussion in this section suggests is that the speakers hit
upon various encoding patterns which perform the task in hand, and
once one has been found, there is a tendency to exploit this pattern in
ensuing utterances. This may involve repetition of patterns by the same
speaker, or by other speakers across turns. Thus there may be a
formulaic strategy operating at the level of syntactic structuring: once
a tool has been found, it is reapplied as much as it can be. As we
shall see, this is also found in other exercises.

8.2 'Guess my Nationality' (Appendix A: Exercise 2)

In chapter 7 we noted that exercise 2 obliged learners to adopt a
highly structured pattern of interaction. In spite of this element of
rigidity, there are one or two ways in which the speakers can make
strategic decisions about what to say, notably in the types of
questions and in the choice of comment which they choose to elicit.
(Here we are assuming that the topic is the unknown country, and the
characteristic chosen by the questioner is the comment.) With respect
to the questions, the instructions do not require the participants to
produce any particular syntactic type of question. They are thus free
to produce variants on three main types: WH- questions; YES/NO
questions; and EITHER/OR questions (see Hatch, 1983 for discussion of

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these last). Each type of question involves a different cognitive process.

In the case of WH- questions, the speaker is following a normal cognitive procedure of providing the generic label or superordinate term, and asking for the specific exemplar, as for instance, in:

- 40) S1: what continent is it in?
S2: South America
or
41) S1: what is the capital?
S2: Paris (fabricated examples)

This is a low cost strategy in terms of effort, since S1 in each case provides only half the equation, and at the same time avoids the risk of being wrong. This might be why it is a common questioning strategy. S2 does not merely have to provide an answer (he does this if he responds to any of the questions): he has to provide the information.

This is not the case with YES/NO questions. Here, S2 is merely required to confirm or deny the proposition contained in the question. S1 then may have to provide not only the superordinate term but also the exemplar:

- 42) S1: is Paris the capital?
S2: yes

Alternatively, S1 may produce questions like the following:

- 43) S1: is it in Latin America?
S2: no

44) S1: does it have a lake?
S2: yes (fabricated examples)

In the first pair, S1 has to provide both superordinate 'capital' and hyponymous exemplar 'Paris'. In the second and third pairs no superordinate is necessary: in 43), because of the prepositional phrase, and in 44) because of S1's relational question. Even in the case of 44), however, S1 needs to have in mind not just the superordinate 'lake', but also the exemplar in question, otherwise the question is vacuous. In addition, however, it may not be productive to ask whether a country has a lake if the speaker only knows of one such country in the world.

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A productive question will eliminate a good number of countries whether the answer is affirmative or negative.

In order to make progress, then, S1 has to ask informative questions, and learn from his previous questions. That is, he has to select appropriate categories and exemplars. In order to do this, he needs to know the possible categories and exemplars; know the terms for them; sort through them to find them; and then assemble his questions. Thus in YES/NO questions the greatest amount of work is being accomplished by S1, with the additional risks of firstly finding out nothing, and secondly being wrong.

A third type of question is the YES/NO EITHER/OR question. This type of question alleviates some of the difficulties involved in committing oneself to a YES/NO question by tagging on an alternative answer:

S1: Is it in S.America or Europe.

This is described by Hatch (1983) as a foreigner talk strategy, since it can be seen as helping the addressee by feeding him with a possible answer. However, in the context of this activity, the principal value of the strategy must surely be to help the questioner. It enables him to ask two questions for the price of one and to get more information than he might otherwise expect. For example, in group G, a speaker asks:

- 45) S20: where is it located in→ europe or in→ america
S22: america [App C:2G,11.37-8]
- 46) S22: it's big or small
S20: it's not small not big [App C:2G,11.101-2]
- 47) S21: that country is surround by . er pacific ah ocean or by atlantic ocean
S22: it's surround by . er pacific ocean an atlantic ocean [App C:2G,11.41-3]
- 48) S22: where is this country located in→ europe or in→ . america
S20: er this country's located in asia [App C,11.89-91]

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In each of these cases, the questioner obtains more information than he would have derived from asking a YES/NO question based on just the first half of his utterance. Indeed, in 46) and 47) he obtains more than if he had asked his questions using only half of his utterance; and in 48) his strategy has succeeded in getting the answerer to provide the information himself.

It is also apparent that using the EITHER/OR question, permits the questioner to hedge his bets. He does not need to calculate the most productive sort of question quite so carefully, because his strategy offers him the chance of more than a single pair of possible answers. In fact speakers sometimes go so far as to ask triple or quadruple alternative questions, increasing their chances even more, as in group G once again:

49)S22: where's the that country in→ europe north america south
 america

S20: it is in europe

[App C:2G,11.50-2]

The OR- question, then, is an intermediate type of question, not as labour-saving as a VH- question; but nor is it as risky or demanding as a YES/NO question. It may be of interest therefore to see what percentage of questions fell into each of the three major categories. Results are reported in the accompanying table.

VH- qns	OR questions	YES/NO qns	TOTAL
68	38	256	362
18.8%	10.5%	70.7%	

TABLE 8.1

The figures suggest that the main strategy used is in fact the hardest, viz. the use of YES/NO questions. Correcting the figures to remove all instances of straight guesses (n=96), produces the following statistics:

VH- qns	ALT questions	YES/NO qns	TOTAL
64	32	160	256
25%	12.5%	62.5%	

TABLE 8.2

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The proportion of YES/NO questions obviously falls. Of those that remain, the overwhelming number are locational adverbial YES/NO questions. In order further to break these figures down, it is necessary to see what topics are raised in the questions. Table 8.3 provides an account of the distribution of questions per topic:

Geographical features	Raw score	%	Social features	Raw score	%
Location	157	43.4%	Institutions	4	1.1%
Size	21	5.8%	History	4	1.1%
Shape	6	1.6%	Persons	2	0.6%
Natural life	1	0.2%	Art	3	0.8%
Climate	4	1.1%	Products	2	0.6%
Lakes/Oceans	9	2.4%	Influence	1	0.2%
Capital	4	1.1%	Population	7	1.9%
		-----	Economy	2	0.6%
		55.6%	Folk culture	5	1.4%
Other features					-----
					8.3%
Language	34	11.7%			
Guesses	96	26.5%			

TABLE 8.3

Two points are clear from these statistics. Firstly, the range of topics covered is extremely limited. Only just over 8% of all questions touched on any social features of the countries, and these included questions on the size and race of population. The emphasis then is very heavily locational. Nearly 70% of all questions were either concerned with locating the position of the country, or else were straight guesses. This does not necessarily reflect the students' knowledge of the countries. This is demonstrated by a chance finding arising from the data.

Group C, one of the weaker groups in many ways, both linguistically and in terms of cultural background, misunderstood the nature of the activity, and instead of the card holder being asked questions in order to elicit relevant information, the card holder himself gave clues in order to help his colleagues to guess the country. The relative

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proportions with which the different topics were used in that rather different format are reported in table 8.4.

Location	11.3%
Climate	1.9%
Size	1.9%
Natural life	1.9%
Scenery	1.9%
Population	7.5%
Activities	1.9%
Institutions	1.9%
History	5.7%
Persons	5.7%
Products	3.8%
Art	1.9%
Folk culture	9.4%
Language	11.3%
Guesses	32.1%

TABLE 8.4

Although these figures are no more than suggestive, they indicate that the groups working on the intended version of the activity covered a narrower range of topic than they had access to. The group which used a cluing procedure invoked a far wider range of common knowledge. This may be of interest in an eventual evaluation of the tasks, and of students' performance while working on them.

These statistics suggest, then, that the range of questioning strategy in terms of topic used was extremely limited. And this is true also of those of the groups which were well above the mean in terms of proficiency. Perhaps not surprisingly, several of the groups relied on geographical clues in order to solve the problem. Group D was one of the most creative of the groups in other ways, but here they seem largely unable to move out of the domain of geographical location. Even that is done clumsily. For instance, the Andes is often used in the region as a reference point, and yet no one attempts to use it in the course of the exercise.

A second striking feature is that there is a sense in which the participants, and the groups, develop their own conventional ways of dealing with the exercise. It is for instance noticeable that often individual students stick to their own idiosyncratic questions which

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they periodically repeat. In group E, student 15 often asks what the people are like; in group D, student 12 regularly asks as first question what the continent is. It is rather as though having found one or two questions that work, they lean on these as a strategy for active participation.

In a similar way, students use the precedent of each others' earlier questions in handling the exercise. For example, students will re-use a question which they have already heard in an earlier round. One result of this is that different groups develop their own characteristic questions. Thus for instance, group A refers to the colour of the population on two occasions, yet reference to colour or race occurs only once in the rest of the data (group I). One group - group F - falls into the pattern of using WH- questions, which speeds the tasks wonderfully. Another, group G, systematically asks about the size of the country, sometimes through two questions. Other groups, on the other hand, do not ask about size at all throughout the session. Similarly, student 13 in group E introduces the distinction 'developing'/'developed'. This expression too is redeployed by the same group, but by no other. The same effect can be seen in the use of vocabulary. Student 10 in group D uses the term 'limit' (eg. 2D,1.110 - a case of foreignizing) to mean 'share a border with'. The term is re-used by the same group, but by no other. In addition, the initial question 'What continent is it in' becomes group D's standard way of starting the game - 11 out of the 12 cards they do are begun in this way.

It is also interesting to note that some groups concern themselves with the ground rules of the game. The instructions did not state what kinds of question participants should ask. Thus, groups often asked WH- questions, one group as mentioned above going as far as to use virtually no other question type. Clearly, in a sense this could be seen to be defeating part of the purpose of the activity. The teacher's aim is to have the students ask plenty of questions, and instead they find that WH- questions will do the job in far less time. As it happens this was also one of the strongest groups. Meanwhile, other groups (eg D and I), one weaker and one strong, insisted that certain WH- questions not

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be answered, notably WH- questions focussing on the language. In a sense, however, the WH- questioners turned the activity into a general knowledge test.

A further question of interest is whether there is any difference in the number of turns for each card a) according to the country named on the card; b) according to the order in which the cards are drawn during the activity. Analysis of the data reveals no particular correlation either for card, or for the order in which the card was drawn, thus showing no practice effect: in some cases, groups produced longer exchanges at the start of the activity, while in other groups, on the contrary, as the game progressed they made it more elaborate, so increasing the number of turns. In one notable case, group E continued playing the game several turns beyond the point where they were fairly sure of the answer. They explored the problem-solving nature of the game to greatest effect apparently for fun, using the least efficient strategy viewed in terms of the number of turns. This is also the group which used the widest variety of comment clues. It could be argued that their pursuit of the answer was generally the richest both linguistically and cognitively.

On the other hand, group D's longest sequence occurred when they had the greatest difficulty in finding the answer, namely when the country named on the card was their own. At the same time, while they also clearly enjoyed the activity as much as any of the groups, they employed a locational focus almost exclusively, and generally solved the problem highly efficiently.

Our discussion demonstrates that this activity provides considerable opportunity for rule bending, and for commenting on the activity, as well as allowing freedom to nominate the focus of the questioning. Topic-sequencing restrictions are relatively few, and groups exercise a certain freedom in developing their own distinctive question patterns. At the same time the utterance-processing load is kept low by virtue of the fact that the nature of each turn is limited by the characteristics of the activity. In addition, the syntactic structures and the lexical

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items thought up for one card can be reutilised for a later one. Finally, the fact that the sentence subjects are generally the pronoun 'it' has the effect of reducing the crucial element of each question to the predicate.

8.3 'Complete the Map' (Appendix A: Exercise 3)

In the third exercise, students have to fill in missing details on their maps. In many respects this activity stimulates similar use of syntax to exercise 1. For one thing, existential expressions are important for enumerating the features that are on the maps. The three main expressions used in the 'Find the Difference' exercise occur here too, namely:

- i) there is
- ii) I can see
- iii) I have

Furthermore, prepositional phrases are also important in the same two ways that we saw in the earlier exercise. Prepositional phrases are used to state the grid reference in which features are located on the map:

50) S13: one A er I have - a group of five - trees

[App C:3E,1.36]

It does happen that the reference point is mentioned in final position. It is noticeable that checking then may well be needed:

51) S14: I think I have some trees -in the . square . D . six

S13: in square D six

S14: yes . that's at . at the right of the picture

S13: - D . six

S14: yes

S13: you have some

S14: - trees . three trees

[App C:3E,11.17-23]

The second use of prepositional phrase either follows intransitive verbs and is either used to indicate the direction that continuous features take or else it follows BE and conveys the precise location of some discrete feature. The following is an example of PP's used to describe the direction of a continuous feature, in this case a road:

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- 52) S13: then - in square A three . I have - . ahm→ a road that comes from square - . one B - continues crossing . two B [S14: yes] and then goes up . to . [S14: that's right] square B [App C:3E,11.64-9]

The next is an example of the PP used to specify the exact location of a feature:

- 53) S10: it's a it's a rectangle [S9: yes] but . meh . it's a rectangle on the left top part of the square E six [App C:3D,11.187-90]

We have already argued (see chapter 6 above) that because a considerable amount of work is needed on the part of both speakers in order to locate the features with any precision, it is not surprising that a large number of utterances consist of satellite PP's or NP's. The following extract is the continuation of extract 53):

- 54) S9: yeah is it on the on on the corner
S12: yeah
S11: at the corner itself
S9: on the corner
S10: next to the corner [App C:3D,11.191-5]

It also follows from this that especially where continuous features are concerned, monitoring the direction of these features gives rise to repetition not only of the prepositional phrase, but also of the intransitive verb, either finite or non-finite. The following shows several of these features together (ie finite and non-finite intransitive completions; and NP completions):

- 55) S13: - a fork
S14: yes . to the right - - so the road is . coming from the west . and before . it . enters . square B2 [S3: mhm] it turns right
S13: it turns right . yes
S14: there is another road / ? /
S13: [yes yes yes] that goes to the south
S14: goes to the south
S13: and crosses almost square C - one CD - one
S14: [CD] yeah . C one D one
S13: [aha and] finishes in square
S14: E one
S13: E one
S14: yes
S13: going to the west again
S14: [going to] the west / ? /

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S13: aha so that's the same road

S14: all right

S13: mhm

[App C:3E,11.169-190]

Apart from taking the form of queries and checks focussing on noun groups, prepositional phrases and predicate constructions, this feature can also give rise to a joint construction of clauses by two or more speakers. In the following examples, speakers 9 and 11 are exchanging information with speakers 10 and 12:

56) S11: five A we have a→

S9: [a mill] do you have a mill in five A

S10: five A - - no . we don't have a

S9: a mill at the→

S11: at the right corner at the top

[App C:3D,11.64-70]

S9 provides the nominal direct object to complete S11's opening utterance. S9 then asks a question. S10 begins a reply, S9 cuts in before S10 finishes, to give S10 the location of the feature. This utterance of S9 is in turn completed by S11. In the following extracts the same students are tracing the direction of a road. Here both pairs collaborate in the construction of the discourse.

57) S9: the road was . I mean . crossing

S11: the bridge

S9: [going] through the→

S12: the built-up area

S9: bridge the built-up area leaving an angle . the left side angle . of er→ . 6A . and then it was bordering the mill

S11: [six A]

[App C:3D,11.578-84]

58) S10: OK there is a build up area . that starts like a semicircle also like a belly of a D - that starts on

S9: [mhm]

S10: the bottom part of C one

S9: touching the limit

S10: touching the limit just touching the limit then it goes

S9: . passing the road

S10: no

S12: no no

S10: no no 1

S9: [between] the road

S10: before the road

S12: doesn't touch the road

S10: doesn't touch the road

S9: it doesn't it doesn't touch the other limit

S10: - . yes and also touches a little part of B one too . and then finishes

[App C:3D,11.658-77]

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Although there is a certain amount of tentative language, the interaction here is very different from question and answer. Indeed it resembles monologue quite closely. This occurs in other groups. In the following extract, S33 has discovered that something is missing from her map:

- 59) S33: mm I don't have a railway I don't have a railway
S30: [all right]
S33: a railway is between
S30: [between] the middle and the top of the square
S33: yah where er where is er this railway beginning
S30: it cross from west
S32: to east
S30: to east horizontal
S33: yeah . in the m in the middle of the
S30: no from from one side to the other from side to side
S33: now wha what eh about the
S31: / ? /
S33: what about the the place that the the railway begins
S30: from side to side
S33: from side to side all over the square
S30: yes [App C:3J,11.326-42]

This feature of joint construction of the description of the map is particularly clear in the relationship between turns 3 and 4; turns 6, 7 and 8; turns 9 and 10; and turns 13, 14 and 15. It is a feature which may have much in common with other kinds of less visually based oral tasks which encourage the joint exploration of a single line of thought.

The only other syntactic frame that occurs with any repetition is connected with expressions of surmise about what the symbols represent. One group uses expressions like 'maybe' 'I suppose' to present an interpretation of the symbols. These may then be followed by a justification:

- 60) S13: A two I have - I suppose a road but here it says . that it's not a road - I suppose
S15: it's
S13: . it's a road mm maybe it's not because if you observe in the key the roads are just a . black - line
[App C:3E,11.43-7]

This may be an idiolectal routine specific to the speaker. A few seconds later the matter has still not quite been resolved:

- 61) S13: I suppose it's a river . so . here is a bridge [S15: mm] because if you observe
S14: very / ? / yes

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S13: yes

S14: it's a river

[App C:3E,11.68-71]

And again a moment or two later:

62) S13: and then I have ar→m . I suppose I have
a building because it's . it's a - -

S14: [it's a building]

[App C:3E,11.68-71]

Speakers 13 and 14 both use these expressions in this as well as the other picture-based exercises. This may be another indication of the way groups can develop certain 'in-group' strategies.

This then provides an account of the main syntactic formulation strategies employed specifically in exercise 3. As we have seen, these strategies are not strictly formulaic in the sense of a template imposed on the interaction. Instead, the strategies identified represent recurrent ways in which the communication is encoded. In chapter 10 we will consider the degree to which these features are specific to this task, and in chapter 11 the pedagogic interest this may have.

8.4. 'Ask the Right Question' (Appendix A: Exercise 4)

In exercise 4 we have already noted that turns tended to be short (see section 6.2.1). We suggested that this was because the object of the activity was to elicit a word through a single question. In fact not all the eliciting utterances took the form of questions by any means, as the following table shows:

Satellites	moodless	11.5%
	framing	1.5%
Interrogative:	Yes/No	3.5%
	WH-	46.2%
Declarative		35.6%
Imperative		1.5%

TABLE 8.5

The table also distinguishes between kinds of interrogative, and kinds of satellite. 'Satellite' refers to moodless or syntactically incomplete clauses. The term 'framing' refers to the use of an utterance whose

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final word(s) are to be provided by the listener. (See chapter 10 for a fuller definition of these terms.)

Examples of each of these categories are as follows:

a) Satellite

i) Moodless

S17: something that people used many years ago to pump
water

[App C:4F,1.37]

ii) Framing

S13: fishes they swim [...] now the fish _____

[App C:4E,11.123-5]

b) i) Yes/No Interrogative

S10: can you name this feeling that a mother has toward his
child toward any of his children

[App C:4D,11.96-7]

ii) WH- Interrogative

S26: what's the sign that the boats make when they are in
the danger

[App

C:4E,11.73-4]

c) Declarative

S15: this is an object that we use always by the students

[App C:4E,1.129]

d) Imperative

S9: tell me the name of an ancient civilisation that was
developed in Europe

[App C:4D,11.1-2]

Closer inspection of these structural types reveals two essentially different syntactico-semantic frames. One of these we might call 'definition' (or 'nominative') and the other 'relational' (or 'predicative'). Each of these structural types can be seen as corresponding to a basic schematic strategy. In the first case, the speaker focusses essentially on definitions or names, using a superordinate term and then qualifying it further if this should be necessary. In the second case, the speaker constructs a request for information in which the term to be elicited enters a SVO relation with other elements of the sentence. We will look at these two approaches in turn.

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8.4.1 Definition strategy

In employing this strategy, the speaker defines the meaning of the word he wants to elicit by using some kind of nominal group which acts as substitute or proform for the target word. At its simplest this consists of a moodless utterance composed of NG + Post-Modifier, as in the following examples:

- 63) 'a thing used long ago to fetch water' [App C:4D,1.6]
64) 'an activity [...] in the house [...] in the kitchen'
[App C:4B,11.11-20]

This is a reasonably common occurrence in the data. Far more common however is the use of a declarative utterance based on the same structure:

- 65) 'this is a thing that [...] the people [...] can only use [...] under the sea'
[App C:4B,11.55-6]
66) 'there's a kind of activity that monkeys normally do'
[App C:4A,1.92]

Sometimes, two declarative sentences are uttered in sequence without subordination, the second one however operating with much the same function as the postmodifying relatives in examples 65 and 66:

- 67) 'it's a wild animal [...] it lives in the forest'
[App C:4C,11.29-31]
68) 'this is an animal this animal is called the king of the jungle'
[App C:4B,11.54-5]

Further variations in the use of a declarative structure include utterances such as:

- 'I am going to ask you about + NG + Post Modifier'
'this word is + NG + Post Modifier'
'there are + NG + Post Modifier'
'there is [a kind of] NG + Post Modifier'
'this is an object that [...]

In addition, inspection of the Yes/No interrogatives and the imperatives shows that, in all cases except one, these categories also serve to frame the same structure.

- 69) 'can you tell me the name of an ancient language'
[App C:4E,11.145-6]
70) 'tell me a name of an animal who lives in the jungle'
[App C:4D,11.45-6]

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Quite a considerable proportion, then, of the eliciting utterances used in this task have the same syntactic nucleus, namely NG + Post Modifier. However, examination of the WH- questions reveals that many of these also serve to introduce this syntactic structure. Use of a WH-word generally gives rise to a construction such as 'what is + NG + Post Modifier', or similar variations. A few examples follow:

- 71) 'what is the , kind of ship or boat - that er goes under the water entire completely' [App C:4C,11.46-7]
- 72) 'what's the sign that the boats make when they are in the danger' [App C:4H,11.73-4]
- 73) 'how do you call the place e eh where you- take water from' [App C:4H,1.93]
- 74) 'what is the name of the author of Hamlet' [App C:4D,1.69]

It is not surprising to find, then, that a slight majority of the eliciting utterances in the data - 52% - centre on a nominal structure of NG (+ Post Modification). It is worth noting that the structure is not exploited equally by all the groups:

		n
Group A	57%	7
Group B	85%	13
Group C	60%	10
Group D	75%	16
Group E	50%	15
Group F	25%	20
Group G	75%	4
Group H	32%	19

TABLE 8.6
Use of postmodification across groups
(expressed as a proportion of all eliciting moves produced)

While group level may have something to do with this distribution, (groups B, C, G and A were somewhat weaker than the others) group D is a striking exception to this trend. It would be of interest to explore further the extent to which group convergence produces such a statistical preponderance of structures. While this is beyond the scope of the present study, these statistics, along with other figures in this chapter, provide grounds for viewing the use of syntactic frames as

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strategic: groups may or may not exploit certain linguistic resources, according to taste, and perhaps their own developing conventions. This point is also supported by the analysis of the use of WH- questions or Declarative eliciting utterances. Groups A, B and G use a considerable proportion of declarative utterances (66%, 74% and 69% respectively), groups C and H prefer WH- utterances (75% and 86% respectively) while groups D, E and F use only moderately more WH- utterances than Declaratives (31%: 28%; 46%: 36%; and 57%: 25% respectively, figures for WH- utterances appearing first in each case).

8.4.2 Relational strategy

The second kind of syntactic strategy we have called 'relational', and this is found principally in the WH- interrogatives and in the 'framing' utterances. In the case of WH- interrogatives, this strategy involves inserting the substitute word either as WH- question word or as some kind of proform - verb, nominal or adjective - as an element in a clause. In the case of 'framing' utterances, it involves constructing an utterance such that a listener can anticipate the final word(s) well enough to be able to supply them. In either case the speaker produces a main clause, in which the prototypical relation Subject-Verb-Object is exploited. The following examples illustrate this pattern:

75) 'what do the bees produce' [App C:4E,11.86-7]

76) 'what sign do you use when you are erm in danger'
[App C:4F,1.64]

77) 'what is an eraser made out of' [App C:4F,1.114]

78) 'what do children do when they-s parents when their parents
buy them rollers' [App C:4H,11.78-9]

It could be that this is on the whole a more difficult way of encoding the elicitation. For one thing it involves signalling grammatical relations (such as Direct Object, or inserting a pro-verb). For instance 77) requires correct positioning of the prepositions 'out of'. In addition, it may be that it requires more complex planning than defining utterances. In the case of extract 78), the focus of the elicitation has to be signalled (namely, ACTION VERB) while

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simultaneously encoding the clue subject. A simpler strategy might be to produce an utterance such as:

- 79) [this is an activity - which children do - when their parents buy them rollers]

It may be of interest to note that in 23% of the WH- elicitations (n= 47) some apparently compensatory readjustment is needed in order to produce an adequate utterance (for example, an adverbial clause is placed in initial position, or some further utterance is added to complete the elicitation in a second stage).

The 'framing' type of utterance is used on only two occasions:

- 80) 'fishes they swim [...] now the fish _____'
[App C:4E,11.123-5]

- 81) 'there is one thing that mothers - or housewives have to do every day - they have to _____' [App C:4D,11.137-8]

8.4.3 Modification

Both encoding strategies involve making some generalization, which may need further specification. In the first case, the definition may be further specified through some form of postmodification, whilst specification in the second case takes the form of some kind of adverbial:

- 82) 'a thing used long ago to fetch water' [App C:4D,1.6]
83) 'an activity children do very often' [App C:4E,1.67]
84) 'what did you read [...] every day in a newspaper'
[App C:4A,11.13-14]
85) 'when you don't have enough sugar what can you use'
[App C:4F,1.48]

Most of the postmodifications occur through relative clauses, as is shown in table 8.7 (in tables 8.7, 8.8, 8.9, figures are expressed as a percentage of the total number of eliciting utterances [n= 104]):

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WH- clause	28	26.9%
Prepositional Phrase	9	8.7%
Adjectival	3	2.9%
Adverb	0	0%

TABLE 8.7: Incidence of types of postmodification

In the case of the relational strategy, the speaker constructs a predicate relation - ie. a finite clause - in which the target item is represented by a WH- word or proform, and any further specification will generally take the form of an adverbial adjunct. Once again, the majority of these units are clauses:

Adverbial Phrase	14	13.5%
Adverbial Clause: time - 13		
reason - 1		
condition 9		
	23	22%

TABLE 8.8: Incidence of main clause adverbials

A small number of adverbials also occurred in postmodifying clauses. The incidence of this distribution of adverbials is reported in table 8.9. Since these figures include, among the adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases complementing intransitive verbs, it can be appreciated that the overall incidence of Clauses to Phrases is relatively high.

Adverbial Phrase	15	14.4%
Adverbial Clause	5	4.8%

TABLE 8.9: Incidence of subordinate clause adverbials

The reader will recall that in the analysis reported in chapter 6, exercise 4 was notable for the relatively high number of conjoined contact clauses in comparison with exercises 2 and 3. These three tables suggest the principal reason for this finding. Clauses are very commonly used as a specifying device in the elicitation of the target words. Indeed very often the principal clue to the meaning being evoked

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was encoded in the adverbial. Here are a few of the many examples to be found in the data:

- 86) when you need help of any kind there are three letters that
make [...] there are three letters that you can form
[App C:4A,11.47-50]
- 87) this word is a country it's a country em where the Olympics
Game began [App C:4B,11.98-9]
- 88) what is the→ . the play tha most of the children - like to
do . when they are m . they are waiting [App C:4C,11.38-40]
- 89) there is one thing that mothers - or housewives have to do
every day - they have to [App C:4D,11.137-8]
- 90) an action you do when you're very happy [App C:4E,1.63]
- 91) they are three words three words it's very common which eh
which means help when you are in danger [App C:4G,11.8-10]
- 92) what's the sign the boats make when they are in the danger
[App C:4H,11.73-4]

We have frequently noted in this section that the features reported are strategic to the extent that the groups reutilise successful structures many times, in spite of the existence of alternatives. In the case of adverbial clauses, extent of use varied. Certain of the groups barely use adverbials at all (eg Groups B, C and D). On the other hand Groups E and H use this structure frequently. The groups also differ widely in the extent to which they use conditional clauses. The accompanying table shows the incidence of this feature in the data from the various groups.

Clause types:	If	When	Total Cl	%
Group A	0	1	7	14%
Group B	0	1	13	7%
Group C	0	1	10	10%
Group D	2	2	16	25%
Group E	3	2	15	33%
Group F	4	3	20	35%
Group G	1	1	4	50%
Group H	1	8	19	47%

TABLE 8.10: Use of adverbial clauses across groups

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Clearly there is no statistical basis for making strong claims about this phenomenon, but equally the wide range in the proportional use of adverbial clauses in the data varies sufficiently from one group to the next to be worth further investigation. Various possible explanations may be found: as we suggested in connection with the statistics for the use of relative clauses, it would certainly be of interest to teachers to know how far such a variation may be due to group convergence, and how far it is due to proficiency. It may of course be that in a hit-and-miss manner, groups E, F and H stumbled upon the advantage of using adverbial clauses in the context of the task and shared the finding.

8.4.4 Morpho-syntactic encodings

It remains briefly to present the principal encodings used in the realisation of the structures that we have reported for the performance of this task. They may be found in the following table.

Satellites: moodless

- something [very sweet to eat]
- something that [people used..]
- a means of [transportation under the water]
- a thing [used long ago ...]
- an activity [in the house]

Declaratives:

- I would like you to think about [something..]
- it's a word [where ...]
- it's [a colour]
- this is [a colour...]
- this is [an activity]
- this is an object
- this word is about [the language...]
- this word is [a country where...]

Interrogative: Yes/No

- can you name me
- can you tell me the name of....

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Interrogative: WH-

what action do you do in case
what's the name of...
where do [you live]
what do you do [when...]
what kind of [thing do you...]
how many
what does [a bee carry]
what is what [you do]
how do you call...

Imperative:

think about when [...]
tell me the name of [...]

TABLE 8.11

In spite of the syntactic patterning which has emerged to some extent in the data, it would appear that this exercise has less stereotypic use of structures than certain of the other exercises. This may be due to the fact that any card could stimulate a somewhat different formulation from the preceding one. In exercises 1, 2 and 3 on the other hand there was perhaps a greater degree of repetition of information type, and of reference point. We will return to the question of repetition in chapter 10.

8.5 'Complete It' (Appendix A: Exercise 5)

We suggested earlier (see section 7.2ff) that this exercise involves two principal sub-tasks, first description of the pictures, leading to, and indeed enabling, the second sub-task, namely the sequencing of the pictures. It was found that these two sub-tasks could be undertaken simultaneously. Where this happened, the tendency was for speakers to describe their picture, and suggest its place in the sequence, within a single turn. On the other hand, where the sub-tasks were undertaken in separate stages, this might give rise to shorter more interactive turns. In some of the transcripts, a further optional sub-task was found to consist of a summary or review stage. This might be undertaken cooperatively, or else might be handled by a single speaker. In what follows we first discuss the types of syntactic framing used in the exercise. One point of interest here is the degree of repetition that

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may be involved in the use of one or other type of frame. Having discussed the syntactic framing, we then look briefly at the degree of cooperative, or interactive, utterance construction that occurs in the different stages.

To approach the question of types of syntactic frame in the picture sequencing exercise, we will discuss the data in terms of three main types of structure: existential structures; predicative structures; and evaluative structures.

8.5.1 Definition of the structures

The reader will recall (cf section 8.1.1) that existential structures are based on verbal elements such as 'there is/are', and are used to report the presence or absence of features in the picture. Other expressions serving this purpose include 'I see/can see', 'I have', and a sentence pattern in which the adverbial complement - generally consisting of a prepositional phrase - appears in initial position, followed by BE and the NP subject which is the new feature. This basic structure can be typically enriched by the use of various kinds of noun postmodification (especially nonfinite V-ing structures and finite relative clause structures). The general advantages in using existential structures would appear to be firstly the fact that they can be used to introduce a wide variety of utterances, and can therefore be repeated; and secondly that they allow processing time for the speaker. It may also be that such structures are easier to process cognitively, in so far as they have a 'dummy' or pronominal subject.

Evaluative structures include all instances of utterances containing a marker of degree of belief. These include utterances containing expressions such as: I think, must (with epistemic meaning), perhaps, maybe, could be, might be, I suppose. The reason for identifying these utterances is that they are likely to give rise to explanatory subordinate clauses of reason, and thus lead towards a syntactically and lexically more varied pattern of language. Evaluative utterances themselves however may be more or less repetitive, depending among

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other things on the number of different syntactic types of exponents used.

By the term 'predicative structures' is meant any type of main clause other than existential or evaluative. This includes clauses with main transitive or intransitive verbs, as well as copular BE followed by its complement. Although there is no reason for seeing predicative structures as syntactically more or less complex than existential structures, it could be that in more general linguistic terms, predicative structures may be more demanding than existential structures, for the reasons suggested above. In particular, recurrence of exponents may suggest greater formulaicity, at least in the way the utterances are structured.

8.5.2 Occurrence of the structures

The main communicative difference between the three picture-based exercises (exercises 1, 3 and 5) is that in exercise 5 the speakers did not need to describe their pictures in the same degree of detail as in exercises 1 and 3: instead they merely needed to give the gist of the picture which in the light of what they heard about the others, would represent an episode in the narrative. This would be expected to allow a reduction in the number of existential utterances used to introduce elements of the pictures and their locations, in comparison with exercises 1 and 3. It also may have resulted in less repetition of other utterances as well. Whereas in an exercise like exercise 3 there is a tendency to check information carefully so that it is correctly located on the maps, checking and querying - which typically gives rise to repetition of utterances and parts of utterances - is less needed in exercise 5.

There was another similarity with exercises 1 and 3 in that in addition to existential utterances, there was also a need to provide some further information about the elements of their pictures. In exercises 1 and 3, this further information tended mainly to involve adverbial expressions of place, and in exercise 3 there were also adverbial expressions of direction. In exercise 5 on the other hand direction was

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far more important, as well as information about actions and attitudes. This resulted in an increase in the incidence of finite and non-finite postmodification. Part of this difference is reflected in table 8.12, which presents the results of a t-test for independent samples, analysing the significance of the differences between the mean for the occurrences of conjoined contact clauses in exercise 5, compared with the means for the same item on the other exercises. (This test is described more fully in chapter 6 above).

Exercises:	1	3	4	2
Exercise 5	1.67 ¹	2.68 ²	3.16 ³	4.94 ⁴
¹ : t < .10 ² : t < .01 ³ : t < .005 ⁴ : t < .0005				

TABLE 8.12
Differences in incidence of conjoined contact clauses
Exercise 5 vs Exercise 1, 2, 3 & 4

The figures suggest that there is a marked tendency for conjoined contact clauses to occur more frequently in exercise 5 than in each of the other exercises, including exercise 1. The differences in occurrence on exercise 5 on the one hand, and exercises 2 and 4 on the other are statistically highly significant ($t < .005$).

With respect to the use of evaluative structures, interpretations were probably more important in this task than in any of the others, particularly when deducing what the characters in the story were doing on the basis of pictorial clues. Thus expressions of surmise were used rather more than in exercises 1 and 3. This would also give rise to an increase in the number of explanations produced to justify the speakers' interpretations.

As far as repetition is concerned, overall in exercise 5 speakers used fewer recurrent syntactic frames. In the statistical analysis reported in chapter 6, repetition, as a function of the syntactic units occurring in the data, occurred less in exercise 5 than in any of the other exercises. However, the initial stage in the exercise in which each of

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the speakers had to identify his picture did result in the repetition of a certain number of existential utterances, similar to those found in the recordings of exercises 1 and 3. Also, where groups combined to order and review the sequence of the pictures (eg groups D and E) there seemed to be more repetition.

It might also be worth considering one or two other linguistic aspects of the picture-sequencing activity, especially that of verb forms. Since the task has generally been presented as appropriate for developing narrative skills, with which the simple past form is particularly associated (cf White, 1979), then it might be of interest to see whether this activity does in fact encourage use of the simple past. Indeed, this is the only one of the five tasks which might be expected to do this to any degree.

A count was made of the incidence of finite verb groups across 7 of the groups which performed the exercise. Statistics (reported in the accompanying table) indicate that the simple present was by far the most frequent finite verb group, followed by the present progressive

Verb Forms	Mean	S.D.
S.Present	51.2	11.9
Present Prog.	17.9	7.9
Peri. Future	3.9	5.4
Modal	6.1	2.4
S. Past	12.6	7.1
Past Prog.	3.8	1.9

(n= 7)

TABLE 8.14
Mean % of finite verb forms in Exercise 5

and simple past with roughly the same frequency. The mean for the simple present was over three times that for the other two past verb forms together. This at least shows that picture-sequencing exercises tend to encourage use of the simple past - and other past tenses - only to a limited extent. Even group H which made a noticeable effort not merely to recount the story in the past, but even to discuss discrepancies in their various initial interpretations of the story,

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still only produced just over 30% of the finite verb forms in the past (26% in the simple past). Other groups which were equally assiduous in accomplishing the task varied from 10% (4 finite past forms) to 19% (19 finite forms). Clearly some modification would be needed in the exercise if this was to offer maximum practice of the past forms. It could of course be that the ratio of occurrence between present and past tenses is pedagogically optimal for initial practice. However, on the basis of these figure it might be worth considering how far other exercises might provide greater density of practice.

The simple past does occur as part of the story-telling function. It also occurs however in the description stage of the exercises when participants refer to an element already described in a previous picture. This happens even though their own descriptive discourse at that stage is still in the present:

- 93) S9: and the other man - the man who made the phone call -
he's just watching [App C:5D,11.46-7]

In addition, even where the group made some effort to translate the pictures into a story, this produced some curious mixes of tense:

- 94) S23: he phoned the police
S24: right [S23: mm] perhaps he's going to go to prison then
before they have a
S23: I don't think so because
S24: they they
S26: it depends if the man is / ? /
S23: yeah in the first picture you see that the man is
driving the bicycle - without - looking where he's
going
S24: yeah - he was in a hurry - it looks like a schoolboy .
or perhaps a man a who was po ah perhaps even a
postman [...]
yeah he was in a hurry - that's why it looks li-ke he
was a student on a bicycle . that's what R said - you
see the bicycle is a little damaged poor wheel - the
front wheel is damaged terribly
S23: [yes] and they carried him -
to hospital
S24: mm they carry the man to a hospital - that's the end
of the story [App
C:5H,11.112-144]

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It is possible to understand this use of tenses as occurring because the students are switching between a consideration of the (fictitious) facts, which are encoded in the past, and the evidence of the pictures, which are encoded in the present. There is doubtless nothing at all wrong with this mix. However it may be relevant for teachers to be aware of the specific forms students use on such an exercise, as well as the way they are intermixed.

8.5.3 Cooperative utterance building

A final point of interest is the degree to which the exercise encouraged cooperative utterance building of the kind found in exercise 3, and also exercise 1 (see especially 8.1.3 above). Generally, each speaker had one or two reasonably autonomous turns providing a description of his picture, during which his interlocutors had to yield the floor. In addition, mostly during such turns there was little querying or checking. This feature probably accounts for the finding reported in chapter 6 of longer turns in this exercise than in exercises 2, 3 and 4. Even so, there is one stage of the exercise during which turns tend to be shorter and more mutually supportive, and this is at the stage when the speakers are ordering the pictures, and reviewing the story.

In the following example, the speakers are attempting to decide the sequence on the basis of each others' descriptions and their own picture:

- 95) S22: [...I] think that the story is about a man who stole a bi-cycle - and was running away from the police - and he didn't notice that a truck was coming from a in a corner - and he was er - he had the accident in the corner
- S24: O K he was hit by the truck [S25/6: mhm] O K he was hit by the truck - and he was er- seriously injured that's why a man who saw this scene phoned the hospital
- S26: somebody called somebody called the ambulance
- S24: [yes he phoned] the hospital - and the police came in an ambulance to take this man to the hospital to see if they can help him

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S25/6: mhm

S23: mhm - that's the story

[App C:5H,11.50-68]

In this extract three of the speakers contribute significantly to putting the information into the shape of a story. In the following extract, the speakers are at a similar stage, but are looking at the pictures together:

- 96) S32: yes eh - I th I think this is the first can you see -
that right [S30: no] ah yes - because a man - is
S30: he's just - riding his bike
S33: [I think that]
S32: [and] a bus cross - a man is /
? / - and a bus - how d'you say
S30: is crossing the street
S33: [street]
S32: [the] street
S30: OK so - L. you have the first picture
S32: yes then you
S30: [then S.] could have the second one -
S33: I have the third one
S30: [O. the] third one
S32: of course and you the fourth one
S30: ['n I have the last] [App C:5J,11.22-39]

Once again this scenario gives rise to a considerable amount of cooperative framing and completion of utterances. In the third extract, the group has already exchanged their information, and is now jointly attempting to order the sequence, without seeing each others' pictures until the very end of the extract. There is evidence in this passage that the participants are helping each other as they each work partly from their own pictures, and partly from memory, reconstructing the story from what they have already been told.

- 97) S9: OK . so L. you have the first part
S11: yes the man riding
S10: [the man riding] - the man was driving
S9: riding the→ bicycle
S12: [riding the bicycle]
S11: [riding the bicycle] almost getting to the corner
S9: [along the street]
S10: mhm
S12: that's right and then
S11: [then] the second one it's L it's a
S12: [who is]
about to→ sh to→

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S11: he was on the corner of yours
S12: yah he was on the corner 'n and a truck was
S9: signalling
S10: was passing
S12: passing the corner
S9: [he's bee→n] he's been crashed
S12: he's been crashed
S10: mhm [S9: mhm] so yes OK so the bicycle was damaged and
the man - fall o' fall down - fell down on the floor -
and [S9: mhm] and the other man who was going towards
to help him
S11: mhm
S9: and now we have the man - the other
man - making the phone call - and the ambulance is→
S12: [i's calling the phone]
S9: picking up the man OK
S11: OK let's show the pictures if we're right number one
S9/10/11/12: number two . number three . number four
[App C:5D,11.54-84]

It is interesting to note that some of the cooperative element here derives from the fact that the students are attempting not just a narration, but a narration from memory. Since by this stage all the participants are familiar with the main elements of the story, since the memory of the different participants is likely to have retained different elements, and since in any case each participant could help at least as far as his own card is concerned, there is a pragmatic basis for the members of the group to help each other. It could be that such features might be encouraged, if the teacher insisted that the groups recount their stories from memory at the end of the session.

There are exceptions however to the cooperative construction, or reconstruction of the story. In group G for instance, S20 summarises the contents of three of the pictures thus:

98) S20: so→ - you have an ambulance I have a man lying on the
floor and she has a man→ driving his bicycle
[App C:5G,11.13-14]

Shortly she sequences the story with the same authority and brevity:

99) S20: - so first he was driving his bicycle then the→ - truck
crashed the bicycle and then - he was taken to a
hospital
S22: mhm
S20: in an ambulance - that's all [App C:5G,11.36-9]

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Clearly, if this group were asked to provide a public account - written or spoken - of the incident, they would not have much to say. This provides further support for the idea that some demand on the students other than merely to order the pictures might encourage them to produce more information. Doing this might lead them to help each other more. The overall effort after meaning may be a positive help in the learning process. Group G one suspects got little out of their achievement on this task. Generally speaking, the better group - that is, group H - seem to have used a more cooperative style in this part of the task.

8.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how the different exercises tend to engage the use of different types of utterance, and different morpho-syntactic features of the language. We have also noted that in certain cases the features chosen have a more formulaic character than in others. In addition, we pointed out that the selection of features by the different groups is to some extent a matter of strategic choice. Finally, we noted that the different activities tend to vary in the degree to which the participants become involved in the construction of each others' utterances, and we have suggested that this may have pedagogic implications. It is not being suggested that these various features are being used exclusively, or rigidly, in the handling of the tasks, nor that any patterns reported will necessarily recur in other samples. How far they do is however, a matter of interest which is open to inquiry. To the extent that such patterns can be predicted, this provides some basis for teachers to encourage the use of tasks like these, as a way of promoting certain kinds of language practice. Used constructively, this may be a way of developing variety of language use. In the next chapter we turn our attention briefly to strategies for signalling meanings.

CHAPTER 9: FORMULATION - SCHEMATIC STRATEGIES

9.0 Introduction

In this chapter we continue our study of the way the groups formulate meaning by turning our attention to the schematic strategies they use. By schematic strategies we refer to the kinds of meanings which may be used as mediators in order to evoke specific meanings in the mind of the listener. A variety of different strategies may be used, though not all are stimulated equally by each of the five tasks being studied. Exercise 2 for instance provides fewer examples of the use of these strategies than the other exercises. As we shall see, exercise 4 is particularly interesting in this respect. In having to elicit a word by asking a question, students engaged in a variety of strategies not all of which are fully described in the literature.

The main kinds of strategy which will be discussed are the following:

1. Lexical strategies

a) Use of prototypical knowledge without qualification (prototypical knowledge in fact occurs in all cases to some degree).

b) Use of lexical relations (eg. superordinate; hyponym)

2. Paraphrase

a) Use of exemplification

i) specific instances: - exophoric reference
- use of proper names

ii) typical instances: - objects & events
- situations

b) Use of description

c) Use of simile

3. Use of figurative devices

In separating 'lexical' from 'paraphrase' strategies, we distinguish broadly between strategies of lexical selection (ie. of a single word), and those involving a group of words, be it a finite or non-finite

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group. At a second level we note also the use of figurative devices, such as metaphor.

Lexical strategies are strategies for symbolizing the referent through the use of a single lexical item or expression. They may involve use of the prototypical word; they may exploit lexical relations, using the superordinate, hyponym or some other semantically related word to do duty for what would be the normal word. In a sense they are 'paradigmatic' strategies.

The use of paraphrase on the other hand is more of a 'syntagmatic' strategy, in which the speaker, unable to encode his message in a single lexical item, provides one of a variety of kinds of phrasal encoding. Alternatively, the speaker may use a single lexical item, but then add to the item some kind of modifying word or group of words. For the purposes of this analysis, we distinguish three kinds of paraphrase: exemplification, description and simile. In a simile the speaker explicitly states periphrastically some sense in which the target item resembles some other entity.

Figurative uses involve the redeployment of lexical items into semantic fields they are not normally associated with. Metaphor is an instance of this. Such uses rarely occur in the data, and may consist of the use of a single lexical item, or alternatively may involve encoding the message in more than a single word. For this reason these uses are classified separately from the previous types.

It is beyond the scope of this study to describe the occurrence of all of the strategies reported for exercise 4 in each of the other four exercises. The use of a schematic strategy such as that of prototypical knowledge would alone involve a most detailed examination. Whereas in exercise 4 the verbal clues provided by the cardholder are the only support for the listener to work out the intended word, in the three picture-based exercises the visual material provides support for the language. This can be exploited by the listener, enabling him to deduce the referent with less need for further verbal help from the speaker.

There are also instances of lexical substitution in the other exercises, as well as some use of simile, metaphor and paraphrase. However, we only report a sample of schematic strategies, doing this for each of the exercises in turn.

In what follows we discuss each of the tasks from the point of view of the kinds of schematic problems which students appeared to have had, and the strategies they seemed to use to overcome them, generally highlighting salient uses of each of these strategies in each of the five exercises. We first describe and illustrate some of these strategies in the context of exercise 4.

9.1 'Ask the right question' (Appendix A: Exercise 4)

9.1.1. Lexical strategies

9.1.1.1 Prototypical knowledge

In exercise 4 the reader will recall that a speaker had to elicit a word, or words, from his colleagues by asking a question. One way in which the speaker's strategy can be understood is by reference to the concept of prototypical knowledge, as outlined in the work of Rosch (eg.1975). Prototypical knowledge is exploited when an individual uses typical exemplars in order to represent a category or concept, resulting in a pragmatic tendency to simplify reality in a culturally predictable way. For instance, it may be the case that not all hens lay eggs, but the prototypical assumption is that this is a typical characteristic of hens. 'Hens lay eggs' could thus be considered an uncontroversial statement, and the basis for all kinds of other questions or statements. Hens on the other hand are not typical birds. If asked 'What can a bird do which a man cannot do?' the standard unmarked prototypical response would be 'Fly'. Clearly, in making such a reply, one does not have the hen in mind as a typical bird. In a sense all language strategies involve prototypical knowledge. However, there are cases where the speaker relies upon it more than others, notably where he fails to provide any subcategorisation in his message.

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Several of the words to be elicited in 'Ask the right question' (Exercise 4) can be reliably cued by using prototypical knowledge without the use of any further devices, and not surprisingly this is what many of the students did. For instance, to elicit 'it swims', a student will ask 'what does a fish do?' Without the existence of prototypical knowledge, such a question could produce a myriad of undesired answers (such as 'it lives in water', 'it breathes through gills', 'it preys on smaller creatures', 'it spawns eggs').

However, it is worth noting that prototypical knowledge was relied on more freely than might be normally expected. For example, in order to successfully elicit the word 'jump', several students asked a question of the kind:

'What do children like to do when they are waiting?'
or 'What do children like to do in the park'

Other students manage to elicit the word 'red' reasonably efficiently simply by saying something such as:

'It is a common colour'

Of course, the instructions left considerable latitude for responses. However, the communicative skills being practised in such an exchange are clearly of limited value. Certainly, although practice in foreign language communication should exploit prototypical knowledge, it would surely be worth selecting words which would require the student to work a little harder to produce a common focus with his colleagues, or else insist more specifically in the instructions that the word be elicited within a limited number of guesses. On the other hand, for students with a restricted range of expression and ability to access it, this is a perfectly respectable strategy, and one which if practised will undoubtedly contribute to improving the student's control over his resources.

Prototypical knowledge, then, is one of the means by which the speaker can expect to convey a concept without using the word to be elicited. A second way is through using lexical relations.

9.1.1.2 Lexical relations

The most common lexical relations are synonymy, antonymy, superordinates and hyponyms. Those used in communicative discourse often are near synonyms, such as 'like' for 'enjoy', 'good' for 'great', 'get' for 'take'; or superordinates of a loose kind, such as 'something', 'do', 'object', 'action', 'activity', 'animal', 'person'. Often they may be used bare without qualification. More frequently the superordinates are used as the head for some kind of specifying paraphrase (see section 9.1.2.2 below).

9.1.2. Paraphrase

Although, as we have said, much knowledge used in an activity like exercise 4 will be prototypical, degrees of specification can be used in order to cue the necessary word. Various kinds of specification can be exploited. These include exemplification; exophoric reference (ie. reference to the physical environment in which the speakers find themselves); unique reference (eg. the use of proper names or uniquely indexical expressions such as similes or metaphors); and more generally, modification. We will now look briefly at these.

9.1.2.1 Exemplification

Exemplification may involve giving either a typical instance of the prototypical action or object, or a typical situation in which it might be found or done. Alternatively it might involve providing a specific instance of the action or object.

1) Specific instances:

- Exophoric reference. This occurred on one or two occasions when speakers were dealing with a colour adjective and found an object nearby of the right colour (in the following examples the intended answer appears in square brackets):

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- 1) S8: what colour is your pen [red] [App C:4C,11.19-20]
- 2) S24: can't you see that box there with the cassettes . what
colour is it [red] [AppC:4H,11.16-7]

- Proper names. This principally involved the use of proper names, which gave the questions in which it occurred a more factual ring:

- 3) S4: theatre plays like Hamlet who write Hamlet [Shakespeare]
[App C:4B,11.42-3]
- 4) S7: how many states does the United States have [52 States]
[App C.4C,1.10]
- 5) S11: oh this is a place you can go to sleep for example in La
Cantuta we have these special houses little houses to
have a weekend there [bungalow] [App C:4D,11.60-3]
- 6) S16: where do you live if you are spending your ho your
weekend at Cantina del Bosque [bungalow] [App C:4F,11.1-
2]

In the last two examples the use of place names provides a direct clue to the word required. Ignorance of the place guarantees that the strategy will fail.

In these examples, the name relieves the speaker of much of the burden of explanation: the normal use of language involves putting together words which normally refer to classes of referents. Combinations of class referents can be used to construct specific meanings, eliciting the particular word. The use of proper names, however, immediately provides a direct focus. It may then remain for the speaker to indicate the salient feature, as in examples 5 and 6; however, the proper name has served as a short cut.

11) Typical instances

In this section we consider extracts in which the speaker helps his interlocutor by suggesting typical example situations in which the prototypical main indicator (eg. the word 'gesture' in example 11), or 'action' in 10)) may occur.

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- Instance

- 7) S4: I'm going to ask you about when when you when do you listen to the radio for example and what happens eh for example . yesterday it was an explosion [news]
[App C:4B,11.113-5]
- 8) S24: suppose you are in a hospital and you see a→ circle with a cigarette and con with a cross on it it means something how do you call that kind of identifications or s symbols [sign language] [App C:4H,11.98-101]

- Situation:

- 9) S13: imagine you are lost in an island because you have had an accident and so you need help [SOS]
[App C:4E,11.15-6]
- 10) S9: this is an action that you do when er for example you want to reach a thing that is so high and you can't I mean er if you raise your hand you can't touch that [jump]
[App C:4D,11.50-3]
- 11) S16: now if you are sleepy . or→ - what gesture are you going to make [yawn]
[App C:4F,11.91-2]

The intersection of these main indicators with typical restricting circumstances gives the opportunity for the listener to refine his concept.

9.1.2.2 Description

This involves the fairly common strategy of subcategorising the broad superordinate category which the speaker has initially used, by describing it.

- 12) S5: mm this is an animal who lives in the zoo [lion]
[App C:4B,1.83]
- 13) S12: A. tell me the name of an animal who lives in the jungle [lion]
[App C:4D,11.45-6]
- 14) S8: it's erm - a very large er . a very long . author [Shakespeare]
[App C:4C,1.57]
- 15) S9: there's one thing that mothers - or housewives have to do every day - [cook]
[App C:4D,11.137-8]

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- 16) S20: some you have to→ guess something very sweet to eat
[honey] [App C:4G,1.43]

9.1.2.3 Figurative uses

The one figurative use of language occurring for this exercise was the following metaphorical expression:

- 17) S3: it's knowed as the king of the jungle [lion]
[App C:4A,11.76-7]

This is a good example of how a phrasal metaphor (which if it were original would be categorised as a 'metaphorical paraphrasing strategy') can, once it becomes routine, be seen as an instance of a 'lexical' strategy.

The major schematic strategies are perhaps reasonably predictable. It is not without interest however to note that non-native learners deploy a variety of means for conveying their message. We will now look at the strategies that were used in the other activities.

9.2. Find the Difference (Appendix C: Exercise 1)

Most of the problems foreign language speakers can have are associated with expressing concepts for which they are not aware of a socially recognised expression (a view discussed extensively in the literature, eg Faerch & Kasper (eds) 1983, see also Pawley & Syder, 1983). This does not necessarily mean that the speakers do not in fact know the conventional expression. As we remarked earlier (section 7.6.2), the speaker may prefer to avoid the expression in the belief that the listener does not know it. Or again, he may simply not be aware of its application. In exercise 1 this problem occurs in the naming of objects and attitudes. For instance, a speaker identifies the clothes brushes correctly, but provides a paraphrase to express the concept:

- 18) S1: some brushes - - that . probably they are using them for
- for - - - for - - - keeping their clothes . without
dust [App C:1A,11.37-8]

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First of all the speaker clearly knows the component words to express the concept; she simply does not know that combining 'clothes' and 'brush' provides the required term. Instead, the speaker adopts the strategy of describing the use of the brushes. One of the interesting features of extracts like this is the fact that the English is grammatically and lexically correct, and yet the phrase 'keeping their clothes without dust' is not even normal as a paraphrase. A native speaker here might say 'to clean/ keep the dust off'. So even though semantically the speaker's paraphrase is perfectly accurate, the collocation is abnormal.

The other relatively common source of problems - both in exercises 1 and 5 - was how to encode an account of physical appearances and attitudes. Here is one example:

- 19) S14: it seems to me oh th this er little boy [S1: mhm] this
little boy seems to be - punished [S1: mm] don't you see
S13: yes that's the same thing . I have
S14: he has er - . he has his . his hands - in the back [S1:
mm] and
S13: looking down
S14: his he his hair his head is down so it seems that he
is punished

[App C:1E,11.30-40]

In this extract, the speaker attempts to describe the fact that the boy in the picture looked as though he had been told off. These two quite fluent speakers take several seconds to sort this out, S14 through descriptions of the position of the hands and the head, and the possible reason for the posture. The three items of information could be seen as examples of paraphrase of the notion that the boy looks as though he has been told off, or is looking gloomy.

In addition to the use of paraphrase, there is the matter of lexical selection. The verb 'punished' for instance is not quite appropriate for a parent and child in a public scene. This is an instance of the use of a roughly superordinate term ('punished') instead of the relatively hyponymous ('told off') (hyponymous terms generally are more specific

and more exclusive than superordinates). Of course, this does not prevent the hearer understanding: the language is being successfully put to use, the speaker making a series of semantic calculations as he proceeds. The final point about this example is that it illustrates the way lexical selection strategies can be embedded in a paraphrase strategy, that is to say, one communication strategy is executed as part of the execution of another one.

The same speakers shortly discuss the appearance of another character in the picture who is rushing for his train. Once again the speakers work to establish the expression on the man's face:

- 20) S14: that may be er a customer . who is in a hurry he is
about to - he is about to to lose his er - - his
aeroplane
S13: well it might be - because his his er . gesture [S14:
ah] his face is is - something special [S14: yes] you
feel is er in a stress
S14: mhm - that's right [App C:1E,11.47-54]

First we might note the use of the words 'customer' instead of 'passenger', 'lose' for 'miss', and 'gesture' for 'expression'. These are each strategies based on lexical relations, though in the case of 'lose' there is also an element of mother tongue interference at work. 'In a stress' on the one hand involves the use of a related lexical item, and at the same time it is grammaticalised into an adverbial by using a periphrastic prepositional phrase. An alternative word the speaker might use is 'tense'.

The word 'customer' is the focus for a descriptive postmodifying phrase whose purpose is to describe the attitude of the character to assist identification. The speaker adds a likely explanation of this posture. The following turn by S13 focusses on the man's expression. In this message, the description of the man's expression is in two stages: firstly it is described as being unusual: 'something special'; and secondly the nature of his expression is sketched in. The whole sequence of the two turns provides a highly periphrastic description of 'a traveller rushing out (to catch his train)'. Once again within this

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paraphrase, there is embedding of other strategies, namely the four examples of lexical naming strategies mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Finally from the same exercise, an example of two speakers functioning happily at a level of prototypical meaning:

- 21) S4: I can see another erm behi eh under the under the→ .
window - a a sad - boy I think
S5: sad boy yes yes
S4: yes you have a sad boy
S5: yes I have a sad boy [App C:1B,11.63-71]

Here the speakers have picked on the same feature as the earlier speakers in group E. In this case there is no attempt to explain the word 'sad'. It might be argued that this would be unnecessary given S5's reply. However, it is an unusual way of describing someone at a station. One or two words of explanation would fill out the formulation. And the expression 'sad-looking' might serve rather better.

9.3 'Guess My Nationality' (Appendix C: Exercise 2)

Of all the exercises, schematic strategies were most limited in exercise 2, both from the point of view of type and from the point of view of frequency. As we have seen (see section 8.1.2), in general the types of questions asked revolved around references to the geographical location. These included reference to the points of the compass, to seas, oceans and continents, and to neighbouring countries.

Even reference to such geographical features however was not without problems:

- 22) S22: so this country gives to the eh - er pacific ocean
[App C:2G,11.28-9]
23) S21: perhaps there is not a→ . a large lagoon
[App C:2G,1.60]
24) S9: limiting with the→ Pacific or the Atlantic Ocean
[App C:2D,1.282]

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In 22) the speaker translates, and in 23) and 24) the speakers seem to transliterate. In the second case the effect is to produce an English word which is syntactically and semantically acceptable, although the exact intended meaning is probably 'lake'. In example 24) the verb, although once again an English lexical item, is together with its following preposition, more semantically wrong. On the whole such examples are rare, and not of central interest to this study. Paraphrase occurs, but rarely:

- 25) S11 what eh continent
S10: Europe
S9: - Europe mhm - they're in the same continent - in the continent itself
S10: yeah we'll - it's in - also somehow like 'n island because it has only . a . little p . a very short part a very er . m→ not wi er narrow part of land - m - gathering this this country to the continent
[App C:2D,11.263-70]

S10, in attempting to point out that Italy is a peninsula, uses descriptive paraphrase to provide the meaning. One notes, as in earlier examples, the use of a lexical substitution strategy ('gathering' for 'connecting' within the larger paraphrase).

In the following example, lexical substitution appears to occur alone. The speaker is trying to describe the British:

- 26) S14: they don't like to bother other people
S13: aha they're very polite [App C:2E,11.193-5]

On closer inspection, the use of the verb 'bother' (employed perhaps as a synonym of 'trouble' rather than of 'annoy') is not the only aspect of the strategy. Once again, the speaker is using the word as part of a paraphrase, and instead of describing the alleged qualities of the British, the speaker provides a vague behavioural description. That is, instead of using an adjective to say what the people are like, the speaker uses a sentence to describe what they do.

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On the whole, communication strategies of this kind do not arise often in 'Guess my Nationality', and the reason may be that in this exercise the questioner can limit his questions to quite general message types. It may be significant that several of the examples, such as the previous one for instance, occur when the cardholder is actually trying to be more helpful than the rules of the exercise strictly require or allow. This occurs in the following extract. S14 once again is trying to be helpful and attempts to give more information than has actually been asked:

- 27) S14: they know a way -
S13: to arrange them
S14: to arrange the flowers and to make er no and to make er
. I mean a+ - a tree - smaller
S13: - aha - bonsai [App C:2E,11.78-83]

As can be seen from the second turn, S13 has already guessed the country, as well as the piece of information that S14 is trying to give. Even so in the third turn, S14 provides a paraphrase to describe the art of cultivating miniature trees. It is possible that the use of such strategies is not generally required by the strict utterance type normally involved in the exercise. It is of interest to note that by using L1 cognates the speaker could probably have conveyed this in excellent English.

And in 28), the same speaker on the same card provides a similar example of a paraphrase which gives the impression that the speaker lacks the ready made expression to convey his ideas:

- 28) S15: how is the culture
S14: - I think er - their culture's er . very - rich . they
have lots of er habits which er . already er - which
still . are - are+ - are taken into account in the
present [App C:2E,11.54-7]

First, S14 finds a semantically related item 'habits' to substitute for 'customs' or 'traditions'. He then engages periphrastic sequences to indicate a) that these traditions are maintained (= 'are taken into

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account') and b) that this is still true nowadays (= 'still.....in the present). There is plenty of evidence in the speaker's hesitations and retakes that he is searching for an appropriate way of encoding this idea. It is possible that this is a typical problem for these learners, since a similar example occurs in a contribution by a speaker in another group:

- 29) S1: so they follow with the traditional dresses no . they
continue even in this century [App C:2A,11.26-7]

Here the speaker uses the L2 equivalent of the L1 expression for 'continue', and then replaces the verb with the correct L2 item. The time reference is also unusual - it is not the century which is the intended reference point, but something more like 'the present day'.

As we have seen, paraphrases may look perfectly normal in terms of collocation and grammar. That is, they can resemble what might be a native speaker's communication strategy. Earlier S14 in group B provides one such example:

- 30) S14: I think it has more people than it should have
[App C:2E,11.28-9]

Here, the speaker engages a paraphrase to express the idea 'over-populated'.

Occasionally a speaker will adopt a term, and define it explicitly.

- 31) S13: I mean . developed . are the ones already developed
like United States and all -
S14: it's a developed . 'ts a developed
S13: [so developed] - developing are the
ones - ah like Peru . that are just developing
[App C:2E,11.39-43]

In this case, the speaker is sensitive - possibly unjustifiably - to the possibility that her choice of words may be abnormal. Instead of trying further descriptive paraphrase, she simply provides specific examples.

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This is another example which intuitively resembles mother tongue behaviour: where examples can be used it may be cooperative to provide them rather than add on further descriptive paraphrases. Incidentally, this is almost the only example of this strategy in the context of exercise 2.

There are of course utterances where lexical selection is the only strategy engaged. Example 32 provides obvious instances:

- 32) S2: and her colour is not ahm→ - it's . very not very dark
S1: they are not very dark
S2: no . and not too white - -
[...]
S2: and their skin is as is no like erm→ they are . they
have yellow skin

[App C:2A,11.96-112]

The problems of expression here can be seen as similar to L1 problems of lexical selection. Some NS's might find the use of the adjectives 'white' and 'yellow' offensive, and indeed such might well be the feelings of this speaker. What is involved in terms of schematic strategies here is the selection of concrete colour terms where some more socially sensitive term might be found (eg. 'oriental type of complexion', which would not necessarily give away the fact that the country in question was indeed oriental).

In the next example, there are two instances of problematic lexical selection in the same phrase:

- 33) S1: it is a very extensive nation [App C:2A,1.9]

The speaker takes two compatible concepts of area and country, but substitutes for each words which together are not quite compatible. 'Large', a rough superordinate for 'extensive' would have worked all right as the adjective, while 'extensive' would have been acceptable with the noun 'country'. 'Nation' can be a substitute for 'country', but not when referring to area. Thus the combination of an adjective referring to area, with a noun referring to the people produces a slightly bizarre

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impression of an overweight population. In spite of this, the communication is successful.

In our final example from this exercise, S4 uses a simple strategy for stressing: she repeats the adjective.

34) S4: it's a big big country [App C:2B,1.25]

This must also be counted as a lexical strategy, since the reduplication acts as an intensifier of the adjective. It might be worth remarking that many of the examples (eg. 31)) involve problems which teachers would often have considerable difficulty in resolving.

9.4 'Complete the Map' (Appendix C: Exercise 3)

Exercise 3 generally elicited fewer schematic strategies. This may be partly due to the presence of a key to the maps, which provided the participants with clearly defined lexical items. However even so certain aspects of the maps did encourage some schematic negotiation.

9.4.1 Use of knowledge of lexical relations

The most common schematic strategy under this heading involves use of lexically related terms. There are many examples in exercise 4, as we have seen in the first part of this chapter.

In exercise 3 speakers used roughly synonymous terms to refer to symbols, or features denoted by symbols, on the maps.

35) S11: with diagonal stripes (for lines) [App C:3D,1.684]

36) S9: [the river] combines with the river in D1
[App C:3D,1.741]

37) S11: you can write stripes . diagonal stripes
[App C:3D,1.102-3]

9.4.2 The use of simile

Simile is a particularly effective strategy of communication, although it occurs relatively rarely in the data. It occurs most markedly in exercise 3. This may be due to the fact that describing configurations of lines on a map can be simplified by using non-literal representations of the shapes. A simile can convey the idea economically without wasting time on detailed line by line descriptions. Here are the principal examples from the data, describing the limits of wooded areas, the shapes of coastlines, and configurations of roads and buildings:

- 38) S11: it's like a little island to the corner [App C:3D,1.37]
- 39) S11: it's like a sign with a stick [App C:3D,1.261]
- 40) S11: it's like a U [S12: . right] like a C of Celia
S10: like D [like the] D like a
like a belly of a D [App C:3D,11.293-300]
- 41) S9: yeas a darkline it's - like a finger [App C:3D,1.480]
- 42) S11: like an arrow [App C:3D,1.571]
- 43) S33: it is like a semicircle [App C:3J,1.30]

As it happens most of these examples were used by one student in just one of the groups. This leads one to wonder whether it is a personal characteristic; whether it is at all a function of other aspects of language proficiency; or whether on the contrary by conscious attention it could be encouraged in others.

The phenomenon of group idiolect appears also here, where the occurrence of an unusual expression with a specific meaning becomes a routine encoding for the same concept at a later stage in the task. For instance the word 'belly' in 38) (part of whose relevance arose from the advanced stage of pregnancy of one of the members of the group at the time) is reused later by one of the speakers:

- 44) S10: like a semicircle also like a belly of a D
[App C:3D,1.660]

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The same thing occurred with the use of the word 'limit' in exercise 2 by group D, or of the terms 'developed' and 'developing' by group E in the same exercise.

9.4.3 Figurative use of words

The efficacy of this is similar to that of the simile. It rapidly put across the gist, without requiring detailed explanations (which were however, embarked on by other groups). It will be noted that in fact these are almost everyday native speaker figures of speech. The words 'horizontal' and 'vertical' are used in relation to the base line of the map.

45) S33: a horizontal building [App C:3J,1.269; also 1.416]

46) S9: yeah - so it's a . vertical rectangle [App C:3D,1.146]

47) S11: a vertical road [App C:3D,1.536]

9.5 'Complete It' (Appendix C: Exercise 5)

Exercise 5 produced rather more instances of the various kinds of strategy than the other two picture-based tasks. This may be due to the variety of decisions the speakers had to make before formulating their utterances.

The principal difficulties in this exercise arise out of the need for the speakers first to select relevant information which will enable sequencing of the pictures, and then to encode it. Part of this involves deciding on what aspects of the pictures to mention. Thus for the final picture of the four, speakers will have to give some information about the fact that ambulancemen are carrying the accident victim to an ambulance. They may or may not mention the stretcher, the ambulancemen, the ambulance, the location, and the likely purpose of the action.

9.5.1 Strategy Selection

Encoding any one of these bits of information may involve various strategies. Let us take the concept 'ambulancemen' as an example . This

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may involve the use of minimal clues and maximum reference to prototypical knowledge on the part of the listener:

'A man is hurt, there is an ambulance'

or involve a bare superordinate (a strategy also relying on use of prototypical knowledge):

'They are carrying him to the ambulance'

Or else the speaker may avoid all reference to the agent, as in the following examples, in which the ambulancemen are not even mentioned:

'He is being carried to the ambulance'

The speaker may use a comprehensible co-hyponym:

'The policemen are carrying him to the ambulance'

Or a paraphrase:

'He is being carried by the people in the ambulance'

'He is being carried by those people who help people who have had an accident'

The first paraphrase uses a simple adverbial phrase of direction; the second is a bit more abstract, since it refers to the generalised function of the referents. The point is that the exercise itself does not require the use of one strategy in preference to another. It is up to the speaker to judge how he can best complete the exercise. The first three strategies above would be classified by some (eg Faerch and Kasper, 1983) as avoidance strategies, the last two as achievement strategies. In fact avoidance may be no more than exploitation of prototypical knowledge: the speaker resorts to schematic simplification and avoids mentioning the feature in question, but says enough for it to be inferred.

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In fact all of these strategies are normal native speaker devices for handling ordinary communication, and they were all used by the various groups. Extract 52) below is a misformed passive sentence. Extract 50) refers to them as 'people', and extracts 55) and 56) provide 'out of the ambulance there are three men' and 'the men of the ambulance'. Various groups prefer to call them 'policemen'.

The reader will have noticed that in each of the sample utterances suggested above, the stretcher is not referred to. As with the ambulancemen, this item may also be treated in a number of ways: indeed none of the groups in fact succeeded in using the word itself (although the exercise was nevertheless generally handled adequately). Let us look at the way the different speakers in the different groups managed this.

- 48) S15: I have a→ man with a→ some eh police two policeman [S14:
OK] erm carrying a man [App C:5E,11.44-7]
- 49) S14: a a a a couple of er a couple of policeman are carrying
him . are carrying him de . decoratly [App C:5E,11.56-7]
- 50) S9: and then in the big picture you can see an ambulance no
and two . [S12: right] you know policeman or . probably
the people who were . were in the ambulance . they are
carrying a man you know in a→ [S12:/ ? /] what do you
call that
S10: yeah OK [App C:5D,11.36-44]
- 51) S5: a man - two man - two men . policemen it is two
S4: [two policemen]
S5: policemen and eh→
S4: somebody is hurt
S5: aha somebody is hurt
S4: somebody is hurt . and
S5: and they are there→ is an ambulance [App C:5B,11.31-7]
- 52) S30: ahm . in my picture I have a man . that is taking to an
ambulance [App C:5J,11.16-7]
- 53) S28: an→d I can see the→m - two policemen . is . taking the
man who is erm [S29: / ? /] what . who . who had erm -
the accident [S27: mhm] eh . this - este er
S27: [the] police is take the
ambulance
S28: yeah into the ambulance [App C:5I,11.32-9]

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54) S24: I can see an ambulance . and eh three men well . two of them the three of them are policemen - and they are carrying - ahm

S23: well they bring a man

S24: they are carrying a man - in ahm - erm - in a portable bed - the one that the hospitals use to carry people that got an accident

[App C:5H,11.4-10]

55) S22: out of the ambulance there are three men - two of them are taking a man which is sick - in a small bed - they are taking into the - car

[App C:5G,11.4-6]

56) S22: and . these these three men - o three men of the ambulance take - take this sick man man - into the ambulance to take - him to the hospital

[App C:5G,11.30-2]

Group C failed to mention the detail. So all groups except one described some salient activity in the scene, from which the detail of the stretcher could be easily inferred (through schematic knowledge). One of the groups (extract 51) fails to mention the stretcher or even the fact that the man is being carried. They simply mention the policemen, the ambulance and the fact that a man is hurt. All the remaining groups refer to the ambulance and to the fact that a man is being carried or taken. Examples 48, 49, 50, 51, 53 and 54 mention policemen. In extracts 51, 55 and 56 some reference is made to injury, and only in extracts 54 and 55 is there any reference to the stretcher. Participants in these two groups managed by using a paraphrase - one exemplary speaker not only producing the phrase 'portable bed' but also adding the postmodifying relative:

'the one that the hospitals use to carry people that got an accident'

However, as we have seen, full precision was unnecessary for the task, since all that was required was to provide enough information for the picture to be unambiguously remembered and referred to. It is fairly clear from this account that only one group mentioned all the participants and components in the scene. Yet even group B (extract 51

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which used the most sketchy approach still managed to say enough to convey the scene in the minds of most listeners.

On the whole then the most common strategy in cases of difficulty is to speak at the level of gist, rather than attempting to tackle the details. The speakers rely on the listeners' use of prototypical knowledge to recover the information, and to supply unmentioned details by default. As we will see, paraphrase is used to handle information which is thought of as important but for which a simple encoding device is not easily found.

9.5.2 Lexical relations

Clearly lexical relations were exploited considerably. For instance, the word 'injured' was generally replaced by a term such as 'hurt' or 'sick' (group G). The bicycle was 'damaged' according to one group (group H), and 'crashed' or 'crushed' according to various others. Collocations such as 'sick man' was used to describe the victim of the accident:

- 57) S14: later the police came to the - to the accident and -
took the→ . hurt man to the hospital
[App C:5E,11.110-11]

In fact this is a further example of an expression being reemployed within the same group, S13 having said earlier: 'the man is hurt'.

The bicycle is described as 'broken' [5I,1.20]; 'crashed' [5G,1.2]; 'a little damaged' [5H,1.138].

For 'crash into', 'collide with' or 'knock over', students use a variety of related verbs, generally less specific, sometimes needing a following preposition to normalise the expression:

- 58) S27: a truck is→ passing by and hits the bicycle
[App C:5I,11.12-31]
- 59) S4: they try to - bump bump I don't know that bump is - he
knocked [S5: he knocked mhm] he knocked with - er -
with the truck [App C:5B,11.113-6]

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- 60) S9: he's been crashed
S12: he's been crashed [App C:5D,11.70-11]
- 61) S12: [the man] is about to→ - er to→ - struck - with a truck [App C:5D,11.19-20]

In some cases however the verb selected might be more specific:

- 62) S10: a big truck . full of er - er - mercancy - erm - shot
er→ - shoot shooted - a man [App C:5J,11.2-3]

The cyclist is not always said to be 'riding', instead:

- 63) S33: the man was driving [App C:5D,1.56]
- 64) S20: she has a man driving his bicycle [App C:5G,1.14]

Often the cyclist is described as lying on the 'floor' ([5G,1.22]) while the lorry (or truck) is once or twice referred to as a 'car', a clear case of the use of a co-hyponym, which on one occasion is described as 'walking' ([5G,1.12]) - most probably an L1-based substitute.

The cyclist's probable injury is not always referred to. Sometimes it is enough to say that he is 'lying on the ground'. If an adjective is used, it is 'sick' ([5G,1.31]) or 'hurt' ([5B,1.34]). Elsewhere adjectives collocate effectively but slightly uneasily for a native hearer. For instance 'the traffic is crowded' ([5B,1.62]).

Collocation can be a problem in other ways, notably when the speaker selects an appropriate verb or noun, but with it an inappropriate preposition. It would appear that problems occur more when a hyponymous item is selected instead of a superordinate. On the whole speakers might be better encouraged to try the superordinate, ie the more general term. For example, the speaker who said that the cyclist was 'lying down on the floor on the street' is selecting a series of normal target lexical items in a normal sequence, at least up until the word 'street'. The use of 'floor' as synonymous with 'ground' is in any case normal in some varieties of British English. However, by selecting the verb with the

particle in the phrase 'lying + down', the speaker employs a hyponym of 'lie'. This then does not collocate happily with 'on the street'. Nevertheless the speaker's meaning is clear.

A similar instance occurs when a speaker describes the cyclist as 'looking on the floor' ([5H,11.133-4]): the speaker's strategy appears to be to concentrate on the main lexical items, and not worry too much about the possible semantic differences arising from the use of different prepositions. This occurs again when another participant says that the truck driver 'get off' the car ([5C,1.24]). Here the speaker has used a co-hyponymous verb.

The lexical strategies used in this exercise are particularly interesting. However, some of the communication problems are not easily solved by a choice of words. Paraphrase is also needed, and we will now consider this briefly.

9.5.3 Paraphrase

Apart from describing objects in the picture, participants often had difficulty in describing events, actions and postures. In the following extract, S14 is describing a man riding his bicycle and who is apparently not looking at the road ahead.

- 65) S14: it seems to me that th this fellow is not er l-ooking .
is not looking at the truck which is er approaching the
corner so
S13: mhm he must be thinking in something else maybe
S14: yeah maybe
S13: distracted
S14: because he's just er looking at looking at the road he's
er . bending well this is ah a racing bike [S13: yes] but
er besides that he is l just looking down . looking at
the road but not looking before him
[App C:5E,11.14-28]

At first sight perhaps the speaker is performing normally. He uses no abnormal lexis, no strange collocations. But on closer consideration, the speaker appears to be paraphrasing. He first mentions the fact that the cyclist is not looking at the truck - yet road users do not 'look at'

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vehicles, so much as notice them or be aware of them. 'Not looking at the truck' is no problem, and therefore no abnormality. Then the speaker says that the cyclist is 'looking at the road'. Yet this expression does not signal anything unusual about the picture either: this is what road users are expected to do. So he mentions instead the posture of the cyclist the rider is 'bending', but this is perhaps not clear: can one bend while riding a bicycle? So S14 points out that it is a racing bike which would explain the posture a bit more. Yet even mention of the racing bike does not ensure understanding, since it is possible to ride a racing bike safely. So the speaker returns to what the rider is looking at.

How can such a sequence of utterances be seen as strategic? On close inspection it appears that the speaker is rephrasing, probably aware that each attempt is slightly awry, as he hunts for the formulation which will communicate the idea that the rider is not looking ahead. Some such collocation would communicate the meaning. In trying to find such a satisfactory turn of phrase, the speaker paraphrases his way towards communication. Until this is achieved, each formulation requires something further.

The data provides evidence that the students found paraphrase itself difficult at times. For example, in the following extract the speaker is having difficulty in marshalling the language to piece together a coherent account (although his meaning is reasonably clear):

- 66) S12: my pictures shows a man - who is - riding a bicycle -
and is about to - er to - struck - with a - truck
S11: with a truck
S12: which is . this is about a just er - is a - almost
falling [App C:5D,11.19-22]

In a different group, another quite competent speaker is describing the cyclist and speculating about his job:

- 67) S24: it looks like a schoolboy or perhaps a man who was po
ah perhaps even a postman . he deliver because of the
bag it has at the back of the -

S23: probably
S24: of the bicycle

[App C:5H,11.122-6]

The way this passage is put together suggests the speaker is uncertain of what to focus on - the man, the bag, what he might be doing with it, where the bag is. Once again, there is little doubt that the word 'postman' carries considerable weight in the communication, yet in a sense the message is telegraphic in structure. This is the point where paraphrase becomes once more dependent on the lexical items that are used, since in this last example, meaning seems to be purely lexical.

9.6 Conclusion

There is of course a danger that a fine-grained analysis of language may become excessively normative. However, the purpose of this chapter rather has been to discuss the messages speakers select in order to convey meanings. It has been remarked on by various writers (eg. Chafe, 1980; Pawley & Syder, 1983) that the impression that speech is smooth and connected is an illusion. While their point is intended to focus on the syntactic continuity of discourse the same may be said with respect to semantic smoothness. There is in the communication of meaning quite considerable importance in the selection of lexical items. (A parallel can be seen here with the importance of lexical items in understanding discourse.) These lexical items provide the promptings necessary to cue the listener to think in terms which will enable him to make sense of the remainder of the message. We have seen that much of the time, the use of superordinate lexical items, coupled with a reliance on prototypical knowledge structures shared by listener and speaker, provides the basis for communication to occur. Where further information is needed, various periphrastic expressions are possible to help provide supplementary clues. Paraphrase can be intended to solve communication problems; but within a paraphrase further problems may arise which may be solved through lexical selection. In addition, literal and non-literal devices may also be used to promote communication.

It is perhaps surprising to conclude that the exercises appear to differ in the kinds of schematic strategies which they promote. On the basis of an understanding of the way the exercises pose problems in the signaling of meanings, it may be possible to form a clearer understanding of the different ways in which the exercises can contribute to language development, and maybe of how the exercises themselves may be developed. We will return to consider these and other questions in chapter 11.

CHAPTER 10: TURN-STRUCTURING STRATEGIES

10.0 Introduction

The way in which speakers take turns in oral communication has frequently been compared to moves at chess (Jacobs & Jackson, 1983; Stubbs, 1983; Widdowson, 1979). This is especially relevant when analysts attempt to describe the ways in which the rules of the game are strategically exploited in order to achieve goals. However, in terms of language activity, turns in discourse are only partly like a series of moves at chess. They are not nearly so succinct as chess moves. Whereas the recorded chess move consists of the mere shifting of a piece on the board, turns in discourse include also the various hesitations, and checks, and fumbles which go in to deciding on a move, as well as the execution of the move itself. In addition, discourse turns may complete each other linguistically, whereas turns in chess are discrete and clearly separable one from another. It is in the build-up to the moves, the way they are enacted, and the way they interrelate, as much as in role of the moves themselves, that we might expect valuable language learning to take place. The types of units discussed in this chapter reflect this aspect of discourse.

As well as being features of oral language, they can be seen as features of oral skill. That is to say that the ability to juggle with linguistic units - repeating, expanding, substituting or reducing - involves exploiting linguistic units in the service of pressing communicative demands. These demands do include such things as the formulation of meanings, and interactional decisions to initiate or respond. But they also involve making possible the execution of utterances once a turn has been commenced.

Certainly this is an area in which oral interaction is likely to make a distinctive contribution to language learning. Whereas in writing, formulation and execution of utterances is generally enacted privately, so that the forms can be carefully edited before public reading, in oral interaction the production process is public. Thus the formulation and

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execution processes become socially shared and take on a role in the development of language proficiency of the individual. In the present chapter we consider some aspects of this part of oral language use, as well as how this may contribute to language learning.

10.1 Dependent Units

The main syntactic difference between written and spoken discourse is undoubtedly that written discourse by and large appears in full finite sentences, while oral discourse tolerates and even encourages the use of lower level units. Wells (1985), following Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), calls these 'moodless' utterances. They are characteristically dependent units which can function in discourse without occurring in the context of a fully assembled independent finite clause. We have already seen in chapter 6 that a considerable proportion of the interaction in the five exercises took the form of moodless utterances (labelled 'phrases' in the statistical analysis, and representing the occurrence of isolated noun, adjective, adverbial, prepositional or verb phrases). In particular the analysis showed among other things that phrasal units accounted for the syntactic constituency of over 50% of the moves for exercises 2, 3 and 4. Also, the incidence of phrasal moves, although significantly lower in the other exercises, was still considerable.

In the present chapter we will be looking in part at the ways in which moodless units are used in the oral exercises. However, moodless utterances are not the only dependent units which can occur in spoken discourse without their normal independent main clause. For instance subordinate clauses can similarly constitute an entire turn. Thus, we shall be considering the occurrence of all instances of syntactically dependent units, finite or non-finite, which have been uttered in a turn which either:

- a) does not include a main finite clause to which the unit in question may be attached,
- or b) does include such a related main finite clause, for which, however, the dependent unit is syntactically superfluous.

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All units that can be classified in either of these ways we will refer to as 'satellite units'.

Category a) includes essentially two kinds of well-known phenomenon. Firstly it covers dependent items for which, although by definition they are syntactically dependent on some finite frame, such a frame has not in fact been uttered in the discourse. The teacher's 'Hands up!' or the robber's 'Hands up!' do not require syntactic frames to be understood, and are unlikely to be confused by hearers. Oral language tolerates ellipsis perhaps more than written discourse partly because of the speaker's and listener's reciprocal and mutual knowledge of the situation, and perhaps also because of their shared ability to disambiguate should any problem become apparent. Oral syntax is negotiable, one might say.

The second common feature covered under a) is the utterance of a dependent unit which can be interpreted by linking it syntactically to a preceding or forthcoming utterance. Examples include framing procedures, where the speaker starts a clause which he deliberately leaves another speaker to finish. There are other instances of this, such as cases where a speaker adds an adverbial or other modifying dependent unit to a previous speaker's utterance.

Category b) refers to a further well-known occurrence, namely parenthetical additions or alterations to parts of an independent finite clause. Additions, substitutions or deletions often take place during speech production, in such a way that the receiver understands the modifications as nullifying previously valid segments, and substituting for them. This again is typical of oral discourse, and might be expected to contribute to the learning process.

Let us consider one or two examples. An example of a satellite group standing as a whole turn is the following:

- 1) S3: and on the stairs a lit there is a little . erm . .
little bear and a toy
S1: a little toy [App C:1A,11.103-5]

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As an example of such a unit constituting only part of a turn, consider the way the discourse continues:

- 2) S1: a little toy
S3: aha
S1: bear is it a bear [App C:1A,11.105-7]

S1's reply to S3 starts with a noun, and this noun is then integrated into a finite clause. There are many instances in the data of satellite units occurring in one of these two types of distribution.

A third phenomenon however should not be overlooked, because it seems very closely related to the group-level focus which we are considering. The feature in question consists of the repetition of independent finite clause frames in order to modify or substitute a subordinate dependent constituent. The following is an example:

- 3) S1: this house is very nice . it has rugs . it has brown rugs
[App C:1A,11.5-6]

In this example, it so happens that the modification of the noun group of the second clause of the utterance is carried by a third finite clause. However, the motivation of the third finite clause is merely to serve as a frame for specification work on the noun group. In a way, the tail is wagging the dog, here, because in many cases, such adjustments to a dependent constituent take place *without* repetition of the finite verb. Because of this, phenomena of this kind are included in the forthcoming examples. They may occur as a form of structural manipulation which takes place on previous utterances. These various categories will be defined in section 10.3.

10.2 Syntactic types of dependent unit

A wide variety of syntactic units can be used in this way, and this is illustrated in the accompanying table. The phenomenon can involve meaningful use of noun groups, adjectives and adjectival groups, verb groups, both finite and non-finite, adverbial groups, pronouns, and prepositional phrases. Also included are lone subordinate clauses (although these occur relatively infrequently in the data).

Noun Group:

- 3) S3: and on the stairs there is a lit there is a little .
erm . . little bear and a toy

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S1: a little toy
S3: aha
S1: bear is it a bear [App C:1A,11.103-7]

Prepositional Phrase:

4) S14: a at the door
S13: yes in the same door I think
S14: besides the man who is leaving
S13: behind him [App C:1E,11.62-5]

Adjective group:

5)1)S13: aha they're very polite
S14: polite really polite that's er one of their
characteristics [App C:2E,11.195-6]

11)S31: it's big your country
S38: big . no it's not big [App C:2J,11.171-2]

Adverb group:

6) S11: is it a big country
S9: more or less . not as big as Brazil [App C:2D,11.215-6]

Verb Group:

7)1) S3: and the point is that we can start
S2: compare
S3: yes [App C:1A,11.123-4]

11)S13: he has his . his hands in the back [...]
S14: looking down
S13: his he his hair his head is down [App C:1E,11.35-9]

Pronoun:

8) S1: some of the girls . no one girl
S2/3: one [App C:1A,11.42-4]

Subordinate Clause:

9)1)S13: well that man I think he is a robber - a thief
S14: he might be
S13: because he is running with a handbag
S14: yeah [App C:1E,11.44-7]

11)S12: Brazil
S9: no because it doesn't limit with the Pacific Ocean
[App C:2D,11.209-11]

These examples show the various kinds of dependent unit - finite and non-finite - which can function independently in spoken discourse. They may occur either on their own in a turn, unsupported by a main clause, or else they may be part of a turn which also has a finite syntactic independent clause. In this latter case, they may either be semantically separate from the finite syntactic clause. Alternatively they may be

semantically related to the finite clause, serving as some kind of operational adjustment to the clause. In each case, the units involve the speaker in producing dependent structures in addition to, or separate from, independent finite structures, in order to alter the sense in some way; to create processing time or to avoid redundant repetition of full syntactic frames.

10.3. Surface structure relations

10.3.1 Surface structure relations in discourse

Something of a puzzle to our understanding of spoken language is the way in which speakers' new utterances relate to the remainder of the discourse. Is this simply at the semantic level of coherence, or do speakers use language which has already been brought into circulation in a conversation?

Structuralist theories of language (eg Harris, 1957) assumed that speakers produced utterances on the basis of a vast learnt repertoire of structural frames. Transformational-generative (TG) theories on the other hand argued that since such a repertoire is potentially infinite, it is impossible to learn it. Instead TG theorists (eg Chomsky, 1957) argued that this potentially infinite creativity of language use required a processing grammar which would enable each utterance to be the new unconstrained product of the rules of the grammar. The rules, as it were, would be used anew to generate each utterance. Both structuralist and transformational theories, since they concentrate essentially on what is allowed by the syntax, do not concern themselves with formal relations between utterances. However, by limiting themselves to considering obligatory formal intra-sentential dependency relations, they simultaneously neglect optional formal inter-sentential transformational relations (the term 'transformation' is being used here in a non-Chomskian sense).

Part of the problem, (as Hymes, 1972, has effectively argued) is that syntax deals with possible dependency relations, whereas an understanding of language use also involves an appreciation of what

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relations are most commonly exploited. Another problem is that formal relations may not only involve dependency. For instance, formal relations between sentences (as Clark, 1974, and Peters, 1983 have pointed out) may also include various kinds of repetition and parallelism. A third problem is that dependencies occur at the level of meaning, as well as that of form. Discourse analysts on the other hand have in turn approached this question from this last angle, that is, at the semantic level of speech act theory and exchange structure. They have not however discussed formal relations between utterances. (This area has been treated by Halliday & Hasan (1976), although not in the same manner as in this chapter.)

However, it is of interest, especially in understanding the nature of fluency activities and their potential contribution to learning, to sketch out some aspects of the surface structure relations of creative, communicative speech. The question assumes added significance in the light of the disfluencies in the data which indicate that one of the problems which any communication activity poses is that of accessing and executing relevant language under the time pressures which typically occur in oral interaction.

The use of finite structural frames, then, is not the sole means of producing speech: as we have observed, satellite units appear to be used to carry much of the load of communication. These units, however, are themselves not always conjured out of the lexico-grammatical store by speakers with tireless verbal imaginations: on the contrary, satellite units are often exploited in reworking various parts of the preceding discourse. For instance, they may be the product of some repetition, expansion, substitution or reduction. They may sometimes be elicited by a previous incomplete utterance, or else be offered unrequested in order to complete the other speaker's utterance. In this way, the incidence of moodless units is part of a network of formal relations which can also affect syntactically independent units.

So, despite the creativity of language use, a speaker's next syntactic sentence need not always be entirely new, constructed afresh and of a

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piece. It may well be the product of the same expansions, reductions or substitutions which are partly responsible for the occurrence of satellite units. In what follows we will consider the way these relations between the parts of the unfolding discourse may be used by speakers. We will then consider how far this occurs differently in the various exercises.

10.3.2.Types of surface relations

The principal surface relations which we identify are the following: repetition and reduction; expansion; substitution; framing/ completion; and markers. These operations of course are applied to nuclear units as well as satellite units, so in what follows we will be concerned with how they can be used in relation to both kinds of unit.

a) Repetition or reduction

Repetition may involve repeating either a nuclear or a satellite element; very often however, instead of repeating an entire preceding nuclear unit, a speaker will reduce it, and repeat only the pertinent part. Alternatively, reduction may involve repetition of a nuclear element with omission of a (dependent) part of it:

- 10) S15: 4A . there is here a river
S13: there's a river
S15: there is here a river
S13: aha
S14: there's a river yes [App C:3E,11.85-8]
- 11) S3: I think there are more than three differences
S1: yes
S2: yes
S1: more than three differences [App C:1A:11.120-2]

b) Expansion

This consists of repeating a unit - satellite or nuclear - and adding some further pre- or postmodifying element to the frame:

- 12) S9: in front of the boy the little boy who is outside
[App C:1D,11.72-3]
- 13) S14: OK what about the clock . the clock on top of the door
[App C:1E,1.111]

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The part added might be a further main clause constituent rather than a modifying element.

c) Substitution

This occurs when the speaker simply substitutes an element in a preceding syntactic frame with one or more items.

- 14) S1: but this little girl is not using the telephone and in your case
in your picture
S3: she's talking
S1: a girl is using is talking
S3: she's talking on the telephone
S1: by telephone yes [App C:1A;11.91-6]

The chunk repeated may be a dependent element, or else a main clause.

d) Framing/completion

Framing occurs when a speaker starts a syntactic unit in one turn and another speaker completes it in a later turn. Thus a speaker finds himself producing a unit in a separate turn from the one in which its main clause occurs.

- 15) S11: you have a basket for
S12: basket for
S11: for umbrellas [App C:1D,11.139-41]

e) Markers

Markers are often satellite units, generally moodless, which have a metacommunicative function, in the sense that in context they act on their own as signposts with respect to the surrounding discourse.

- 16) S9: it's famous to the / ? / beaches
S10: OK
S12: right [App C:2D,11.59-61]

- 17) S10: it is not twelve o'clock right . it's just ten o'clock ten yes .
one difference [App C.1D,11.51-2]

10.4 Uses of transforms

It is instructive to observe the ways these different manipulations of satellite units occur in spoken discourse. Learners use this feature of oral language for various purposes. The following does not claim to

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present an exhaustive list, but it does represent some of the most characteristic types of occurrence.

10.4.1 Repetition/reduction

1) *Back-focussing*: a phrase or an entire utterance is picked out of a previous turn and used in one of several ways: to question, to agree, to confirm, or to check understanding:

18) Questioning

S14: I think I have some trees . in the square D six

S13: in square D six

S14: yes that's at . at the right of the picture

[App C:3E,11.17-19]

19) Agreeing

S3: I think there are more than three differences

S1: yes

S2: yes

S1: more than three differences

[App C:1A,11.120-2]

20) Confirming:

S13: aha they're very polite

S14: polite really polite that's er one of their characteristics

[App C:2D,11.195-6]

This can also function for contradicting (where an affirmative reply is given to a preceding negative statement); for summarising; for reiterating; or for answering (in which the answer consists of part of the question).

ii) *Holding device*: this involves a use similar to the preceding examples, but here the purpose is to signal that the speaker has heard the previous turn, while giving him time to formulate a reply. This resembles Edmondson's 'uptakes'(1981):

21) S3: where which continent is that country

S1: s south america

S4: - - ehm→ south america is it eh - at the north part of south america or the south part of south america

[App C:2D,11.11.9-12]

22) S7: do you have the magazine [S6:...]

S8: magazines . we don't have any magazines

[App C:1C,11.121-3]

This may also operate as an acknowledgement.

iii) *Ellipsis-through-routine*: this use of groups results from identification of a clausal meaning with a single word. It resembles a

marker, since its function arises out of a meaning which is part of the interaction situation of the participants. A common example is the way a teacher might say 'Chalk!' when he needs chalk, or 'The door!' when someone forgets to close it. Whereas the stage marker acts as a kind of verbal heading, ellipsis-through-routine arises more as an abbreviation of a clause that recurs during the activity. The following utterances occur during the interaction of group D in exercise 2:

23)S10: which continent is that country [1.9]
 S11: what continent is it [1.77]
 S12: what continent [1.107]
 S11: continent [1.167]
 S9: what continent is it [1.252]
 S11: what continent [1.279]
 S11: what continent [1.302]
 S10: what continent is it in [1.313]
 S11: continent [1.335][App C:2D]

In the first occurrence during the task, the full question form is more likely to be used. Thereafter, on later occasion, the expression tends to become steadily more elliptical.

In addition to these uses, repetition and reduction are frequently used by speakers as routines for assembling their utterances: the speaker initiates his utterance, repeats all, or part, of his start, and then adds the next piece. We will not be reporting on the incidence of this kind of repetition in the present study.

10.4.2 Expansion

1) *Amplification*. The purpose of amplification is a form of post hoc monitoring to add greater specificity to a unit that has already been produced:

24)S9: [...]in front of the boy the little boy who is outside (mhm)
below the window there is a piece of paper
[App C:1D,11.72-5]

25)S14: OK what about the clock . the clock , on top of the door
[App C:1E,1.111]

11) *Sentence construction.* Expansion here is a false-start strategy for building up a sentence. The speaker retreats in order better to advance:

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26)S14: yeah . but that may be er a customer , who is in a hurry he
is about to - he is about to to lose his er - - his
aeroplane [App C:1E,11.47-8]

27)S3: [...] eh he isn't a man who is sitting on a chair . it's a
woman

S2: a woman we just have a woman sitting on a chair
[App C:1A,11.75-7]

iii) *Re-using*. This occurs when the speaker uses part of the preceding discourse in his next contribution. This may either involve the speaker in reusing a unit that he himself has already uttered, or else it may be picked up from another speaker. In the former case, this often occurs after a holding device. The speaker uses the holding device as an element in his eventual main move, which then may take the form of an answer. If the speaker is using an element uttered by an interlocutor, this also often occurs in question and answer sequences.

28) S31: it's big your country
S30: big , no it's not big [App C:2J,11.171-2]

29)S13: where is she sitting? mine is sitting on a table
[App C:1E,11.193-4]

30)S10: the boy is wearing a striped
S9: no, the boy is wearing a plain shirt [App C:1D,11.90-1]

31) S22: what language do they speak
S21: they speak er Spanish
S20: everybody speaks Spanish in South America
S22: Brazil
S20: except Brazil [App C:2G,11.77-81]

iv) *Back-focussing*. Expansions are also used in responses, when a speaker takes up all, or part, of a preceding utterance, and adds to it, producing a kind of mirror image of the back-focussing or holding reduction discussed above. Instead of reducing, the second speaker fills out the previous utterance:

32) S13: (asks the colour of carpet in partner's picture)
S15: beige brown . brown brown
S13: a mixing of beige and brown . well I think that mine . all
the floor is covered with er . rugs
[App C:1E,11.182-4]

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10.4.3 Substitution

i) *Semantic correction*: here the speaker substitutes one word for another for reasons of semantic accuracy.

33) S1: some of the girls no one girl was using a telephone
[App C:1A,11.42-5]

ii) *Clarification*: here the speaker substitutes an item in order to be more specific or more explicit, in the interests of clarity.

34) S1: in your case in your picture [App C:1A,11.91-2]

iii) *Formal correction*: here the speaker appears to be correcting the prepositional usage of her colleague (although this case could also be merely an example of idiosyncratic preference).

35) S3: she's talking on the telephone
S1: by telephone yes [App C:1A,11.95-6]

iv) *Paraphrase*: this kind of substitution resembles what Færch & Kasper and others call a 'communication strategy', where a speaker uses a paraphrase when the correct word is not known.

36) S1: it has waste basket . it has a basket who probably serve for buying some things in the market
[App C:1A,11.6-7]

v) *Contradiction/contrast*: this is not a case of semantic correction because despite the pronoun 'she' the two speakers are in fact discussing the differences between two different pictures.

37) S1: the little girl's playing with the bear
S3: ah no she isn't playing she's talking on the telephone
[App C:1A,11.108-110]

10.4.4 Framing/completion

i) *Sympathetic*: this kind of completion is the neighbourly sort of completion where the listener completes the speaker's sentence for him perhaps to save him the trouble and more probably to show convergence.

38) S3: and the point is that we can start
S2: compare
S3: yes [App C:1A,11.123-5]

ii) *Competitive*: here, both speakers are doing their best to get the words out first. As soon as the listener detects the slightest hesitation, he throws in the next word.

39) S11: on yours you have a clock and I have a
S12: a picture
S11: a picture [App C:1D,11.130-2]

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iii) *Cooperation*: in this case both the speakers are having trouble finding the right words (or in understanding the facts), and S12 holds the sentence while S11 finds the missing part. Here they are building the sentence together without one needing to ask the other (cf also Morrison & Low's example of this (1983)).

- 40) S12: and you have . er. I have a little →
S11: you have a basket for
S12: a basket for →
S11: for umbrellas
S12: for umbrellas and you have a → [App C:1D,11.138-42]

iv) *Elicitation*: this resembles the well-known questioning or prompting strategy used by teachers (T: 'and on top we have...'; P: 'a filter, sir'). It may also be used because the speaker genuinely does not know and is asking for help.

- 41) S9: this little boy is wearing short pants [S10:mhm] and a
plaaia
S10: shirt [App C:1D,11.94-8]
- 42) S2: so the correct answer is
S1: jump
S2: jump OK that's right
S1: right [App C:4A,11.99-102]

10.4.5 Markers.

The term 'marker' here includes discourse markers of the kind identified in Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), as well as further related uses of non-finite units. Markers do not necessarily have any formal similarities with preceding or following discourse. However, there are some uses, identified in the first three sub-types listed below, which do derive from the language of the particular activity.

i) *Focus of attention*: there are frequent examples of groups being used to focus attention on what the speaker is about to say by prefacing the sentence with the relevant group (sometimes this resembles what Duranti and Ochs call 'left-dislocation' (1979):

- 43) S14: this man wh who might be this man [App C:1E,1.40]
- 44) S14: what about the pictures - the first picture . er . beside
the lady [S13:mhm] er y'know , 't says er . motorail
[App C:1E,1.98-101]

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- 45) S13: well that man I think he is a robber - a thief
[App C:1E,1.44]

ii) *Stage markers*: Sometimes the marker indicates a new stage in the discourse, thus marking the topic for several turns:

- 46) S13: so the difference a the then - . from the same door
(proceeds to look for a difference) [App C:1E,1]
- 47) S22: we have in fiveth square a road - . but not a mill
S20: 'n not a mill - picture eh square six
S22: in square six we have - - - - - we have build up area
[App C:3G,11.37-41]

iii) *Achievement markers*: achievement marking is similar to attention focussing, but instead of announcing what is to come, it involves signalling goals achieved. In the following examples the groups are looking for differences between pictures:

- 48) S9: it is not twelve o'clock right - it's just ten o'clock ten
yes - one difference [App C:1D,11.51-2]
- 49) S7: [...] his shoe's off
S6: here they are they have shoes
S7: two differences - how about the rug [...] [App C:1C,11.69-72]

iv) *Discourse markers*: these are the ones which largely resemble the type identified in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and are used to indicate boundaries in the discourse.

eg. 'Yes', 'No', 'OK', 'right', 'good', 'all right', 'now', etc.

These categories do not of course account for all of the satellite units which occur in the data. What might be called additive ellipsis (in contrast with the various kinds of repetitive ellipsis enumerated above) also occurs frequently in the data.

Clearly many of these categories and examples enter into a wider context of strategies for the structuring and elaboration of discourse. The manipulations used do not of course apply exclusively to the dependent 'satellite' units that we have been discussing. Furthermore, it may well be possible to develop a more rigorous semantic classification

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of the phenomena we have identified. One of the interesting aspects of the categories that we have presented is that they illustrate the way in which discourse strategies can involve work with low level syntactic items rather than just with sentence-level structures. This is a feature of language learning which may be particular to fluency exercises. We will return to consider this point later in the chapter, and in chapter 11.

10.5 Incidence of the devices in the data

10.5.1 Introduction

In order to be able to form an overall idea of the relative distribution of these features in the data, we have counted the frequency of occurrence of four of the major categories in a representative sample of the data. The four categories which we report on are: repetition/ reduction; expansion; substitution; and completion. The sample of data used for this consists of the transcripts for the groups A, B, C, D and E. In addition to the four main categories, we also report the overall incidence of phrasal moves for the total corpus.

10.5.2 Phrasal turns

Of all of the features of language use examined in the present study, it might be thought that these four kinds of surface relations would be the most immune to any effect from the exercises: after all, idiosyncratic patterns of language production and interaction would be expected to account for much of the variance; so too may the level of language proficiency. However, the figures also reveal some variance which appears to be attributable to the exercises. In the first place, we have already noted that phrasal moves occur at different frequencies across the five exercises. We reproduce the table from Chapter 6 showing these differences.

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Ranking	M	SD	Ex	3	2	1	5
Ex 4	56.37	5.73			n.s.	5.10'	4.95'
Ex 3	54.00	5.73			n.s.	3.40'	3.54'
Ex 2	52.78	8.63			n.s.	4.01'	4.11'
Ex 1	32.14	12.01				n.s.	n.s.
Ex 5	29.87	14.01					

Table 10.1: Phrasal Units (' : $t < .005$)

The incidence of phrasal units was calculated as a percentage of all syntactic units, and the differences between the means were tested for significance by a t-test for independent samples (see section 6.1 for a fuller account of this test.) Thus the figures appearing on the top line of table 10.1 result from a statistical comparison between the total scores for exercise 4 (mean 56.37) and those for exercises 1 and 5 (means 32.14 and 29.87 respectively). The results reported are only those with some statistical significance. Thus comparison between the figures for exercises 4, 3 and 2 is statistically non-significant (n.s.). Exercises appearing in the vertical axis are ranked according to means.

Table 10.1 compares each of the exercises with each of the others on the relevant measure, and shows that exercises 2, 3 and 4 have a relatively greater incidence of satellite phrasal units than exercises 5 and 1, at a high level of statistical significance. This of itself would suggest that these exercises tend to encourage - or allow - significantly more use of elliptical utterances than exercises 1 and 5. In the case of exercise 2 the reason for this is likely to be the fact that students are in a relatively repetitive activity, in which there is a high degree of predictability of speech act and topic, which takes the form of repetitions of speech acts, and frequently involves the repetition of information, with minor alterations. Turns are short. In addition since the exercise is a guessing game, a very high proportion of turns are likely to be evaluative.

Exercise 4 we have seen tends to involve greater use of conjoined contact clauses. This is because the object of the game is to provide compact one-turn elicitations, and this encourages conjoining. On the other hand as in exercise 2, students are involved in providing short,

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indeed generally one word, responses, and, again as in exercise 2, these responses require evaluation by the elicitor. Response and evaluation are likely to be short, and since the illocutionary force once again of evaluation and response is defined by the rules of the game, the need for full sentential clauses is reduced.

In exercise 3, the situation is at first sight rather different. Students are working on a map, and the interaction is not structured in such a tight and cyclical manner as in exercises 2 and 4. However, there are similar pressures operating to encourage shorter turns. For one thing, the context is defined by the general bearings of the map, and the speech acts similarly become conventionalised into point-by-point location, and identifications with possible descriptions where precision is a problem. Thus there is a tendency for speakers to produce elliptical turns as in the previously discussed exercises. In exercise 3, there is a further feature which is that turns tend to become segmented into short chunks whose syntactic construction carries over across turns. This is probably a product of the need for accuracy of information transfer, and may be the cause of a similarly large proportion of syntactically incomplete turns.

Certain aspects of exercises 1 and 5 do encourage similarly short phrasal turns, notably those stages in the activities where the participants are either reviewing or summarising their results, or else where they are comparing pictures detail by detail. However, because of the need for picture description, as well as the possibility of one participant taking over the entire narration, there is a far greater possibility in these exercises for participants to embark on long turns containing more clausal units. Thus, in the first place we have reasonable grounds for saying that, in general, exercises 2, 3 and 4 encourage more phrasal turns of all kinds.

10.5.3 Occurrence of varieties of syntagmatic transforms

We now turn to consider the incidence of repetition/reduction; expansion; substitution; and completion. The incidence of these features was calculated as a percentage of the total number of syntactic moves.

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The differences between the percentages were then tested for significance using the t-test for independent samples. This was done in order to see whether there is any differential tendency for the linguistic features to occur in the five exercises. Results are reported in tables 10.2 - 10.5.

It should be emphasised that these analyses are being presented as preliminary evidence to evaluate whether there is any degree of patterning in the occurrence of these features in the data. The sample however is very small, and further studies would be needed in order to confirm the reliability of these findings. In addition, it goes without saying that additional studies would still be required in order to support claims that these features are in any way significant for the learning of language, which is a further issue.

10.5.3.1 Repetitions/reductions

Ranking	M	SD	Ex 2	Ex 4	Ex 1	Ex 5
Ex 3	16.8	7.8	n.s.	1.58 ¹	2.44 ²	3.56 ³
Ex 2	14.3	5.1		n.s.	2.51 ²	4.36 ⁴
Ex 4	10.0	5.0			n.s.	2.83 ²
Ex 1	7.8	2.6				3.49 ⁴
Ex 5	2.2	1.7				

(¹):t<.10; ²):t<.025; ³):t<.01; ⁴):t<.005

Table 10.2: Repetition/reduction

According to table 10.2, (for an explanation of this and the following tables, see above, section 10.5.2) significantly less repetition and reduction appears to occur in the transcripts for exercise 5 than in the other 4 exercises. Exercises 1 and 4 seem to cluster in the middle of the range. Exercises 2 and 3 appear to produce the most. (Note that reduction here does not include general ellipsis: it only includes reduction of a preceding utterance.)

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This is an interesting result and supports the intuition that in the production of an extended piece of discourse - a characteristic that we have noted in exercises 1 and 5 - there is less tendency for speakers to repeat whole, or reduced, syntagmas in following utterances. Such repetition occurs far more frequently in exercises 2 and 3. This is consistent with our earlier remarks concerning the routine recurrent nature of discourse in exercises 2 and 3. Whereas this feature would be expected to be relatively lacking in exercise 1, interestingly, the table seems to suggest that repetition is also a less common feature in exercise 4. This may be due to the fact that in exercise 4 the words to be elicited vary in terms of word class, and in terms of semantic range. It may also reflect the fact that there is less homing in on the target item through repeated guessing. Instead guessers try one or two quite distinct words, and transactions are generally shorter.

10.5.3.2 Expansions

Ranking	N	SD	Ex 3	Ex 2	Ex 1	Ex 4
Ex 5	8.3	1.7	n.s.	1.50 ¹	1.65 ¹	2.38 ²
Ex 1	8.2	5.8		n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Ex 3	7.6	2.9			n.s.	n.s.
Ex 4	6.2	0.8				n.s.
Ex 2	4.8	4.3				

(¹t<.10; ²t<.025)

Table 10.3: Expansion

The reader will recall that expansions are the addition of some element to all, or part, of a preceding syntagma (see section 10.3.2). Table 10.3 shows that speakers seem to produce more expansions in exercise 5 than in the others, including exercise 1. The kind of expansion that occurs in exercise 5 often involves some added identifying modification:

- 50) S11: he was on the corner of yours
 S12: yah he was on the corner 'n and a→ truck was er
 S9: signalling
 S10: was passing
 S12: passing the corner [App C:5D,11.65-9]
- 51) S9: and now we have the man - the other man - making the
 phone call [App C:5D,11.80]

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- 52) S11: and a truck is just appearing . the→ front part of the
truck is just appearing by the corner
[App C:5D,11.29-31]
- 53) S9: and the other man - the man who made the phone call -
he's just watching [App C:5D,11.46-7]
- 54) S13: so your man was just - coming - near the corner but
was not looking
S14: aha she he was not looking before him - he was just
looking on the road [App C:5E,11.90-4]
- 55) S13: he is now on the floor . lying on the floor
[App C:5E,11.37-8]
- 56) S14: it seems to me that th this fellow is not er l-looking -
is not looking at the truck which is er approaching the
corner [App C:5E,11.16-8]
- 57) S6: he is a - crossing - he's going to cross a→ street
[App C:5C,1.5]

Most of these examples involve addition of supplementary information in order to make the utterance more complete. Thus for example, 53) involves parenthetical repetition of the noun with addition of a defining modifier. In 52) the speaker adds a narrower specification of the truck. In 50), 54), 56) and 57) the speaker adds a verb complement (in 57) the speaker also adds a tense marker). And in 55) S13 adds a verbal element to specify the posture of the man. This information is added not because the sentence is grammatically incomplete so much as because the utterance could usefully provide more specific information. Predictably this appears not to happen so much in exercises 2 and 4. It is perhaps surprising that exercise 1 shows less expansion in this sample. The reason may be that in exercise 1, the speakers have less anaphoric identification to make, and less explanatory specification. In exercise 5, the picture sequence should enable the speakers to make sense of the events. In exercise 1, it is sufficient to identify differences.

It is possible that if sentence constructing expansions (such as restarts) were taken into consideration, then the difference between exercises 5 and 1 might become smaller, while that between 5 and 2 and

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4 might increase. The basis for this prediction is that sentence constructing expansions would be expected to occur in longer turns, and would thus be less likely in exercises 2, 3 and 4.

10.5.3.3 Substitutions

Ranking	N	SD	Ex 1	Ex 5	Ex 4	Ex 2
Ex 3	4.8	1.7	n.s.	n.s.	5.00 ²	5.04 ²
Ex 1	4.0	2.9		n.s.	2.30 ¹	2.43 ¹
Ex 5	2.0	3.9			n.s.	n.s.
Ex 4	1.0	0				n.s.
Ex 2	0.8	0.4				

(¹:t<.025; ²:t<.005)

Table 10.4: Substitutions

Substitution involves the re-use of a syntagma, or part of a syntagma, with substitution of one or more elements. When overall incidence of substitution in exercises 2, 3 and 4 are compared together for all groups, the mean occurrence is significantly higher in exercise 3 than in exercises 2 and 4. Exercise 1 also appears to engage more substitution than exercises 2 and 4. This is understandable. In exercise 1, the students' objective is to identify differences. This is likely to lead at some stage to contrasting pairs of utterances, in which the same utterance frame can be used twice, with the substitution occurring at the point of the relevant difference:

- 58) S9: it's not twelve o'clock right - it's just ten o'clock
[App C:1D,11.51-2]
- 59) S11: in mine . you can see some flowers
S12: right in mine - about - er on the wall . you can see a clock
[App C:1D,11.23-4]
- 60) S4: you have a - a black telephone and I have a - brown telephone
[App C:1B,11.30-1]

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Exercise 3 provides a similar feature, since the students fill in missing features, which are the points of contrast between the two maps. In addition substitutions can occur once a routine frame is reused, or where corrections are needed in a frame.

- 61) S1: in→ number two I can see - - - - I can see a→ . also
a road . a road - - - and in line three - a building no
. in the square . three I can see a building [...] in a
square - five I can see a mill [App C:3A,11.20-7]

In 61) the speaker reuses the frame 'in ____ I can see ____' three times; in addition she corrects the word 'line' substituting 'square'. Certain kinds of semantic adjustments and clarifications often have the same result:

- 62) S33: you you have to draw , one , building [S30: mhm] in the
middle part of the square
S30: in the centre part
S33: yes . in the centre . of B [App C:3J,11.259-63]
- 63) S10: [the building] is connected to the road with a line
that's all
S9: [yeah] . with two lines no [App C:3D,11.154-6]
- 64) S14: before it . it goes south . the→ square B1 . it turns
t'the→ right . it has a fork to the right
[App C:3E,11.165-8]
- 65) S9: yeh is it on the on on the corner on
S12: yeah
S11: at the corner itself
S9: on the corner
S10: next to the corner [App C:3D,11.191-5]

Extracts 62) - 64) each show substitution of one element for another in order to clarify the meaning. Sometimes this is produced by the listener who provides a checking response. In 62) the substitution is synonymous; in 63) it is intended to clarify one part of the information. Alternatively the speaker can provide a substitution if he is not quite sure whether he has made himself understood. 64) is an example of this. In 65), S11 substitutes to check information from S10

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and S12. S10 replies with a further substitution, inserting the preposition 'next to'.

Thus the greater incidence of substitution in exercise 3, and to a lesser extent in exercise 1, may be attributable to the amount of detailed negotiation of meaning that was involved in doing these exercises.

10.5.3.4 Completions

Ranking	N	SD	Ex 5	Ex 3	Ex 2/4
Ex 1	2.6	1.7	n.s.	n.s.	2.54 ²
Ex 5	2.3	2.6		n.s.	1.39
Ex 3	2.0	1.6			1.82 ¹
Ex 2	0.6	0.5			n.s.
Ex 4	0.6	0.5			n.s.

(¹:t<.10; ²:t<.025)

Table 10.5: Completions

As for completion, incidence of completion overall is obviously extremely low in all exercises, so that any statistics have a purely illustrative function. On this basis, completion (occurring when syntactic units are completed across turns) seems to be least frequent in exercises 2 and 4. (The columns for exercises 2 and 4 have been merged because their statistics happen to be identical.) This difference in distribution is understandable since these two exercises are in a sense competitive rather than cooperative games. Each speaker has a turn, and each turn is intended to be a self-contained question, elicitation, response or evaluation. This feature makes completion a highly unlikely characteristic of these tasks.

Exercises 1, 3 and 5 on the other hand involve combining different parts to make a whole. Thus each one has stages where there is a strong likelihood that speakers will helpfully finish each other's utterances. In exercise 1 this occurs where the students are enumerating the differences, particularly when they inspect the pictures at the end of the exercise. In exercise 5, this also tends to occur

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towards the end, at the point when they order the pictures, and especially when, all more or less acquainted with the story, they recapitulate the events. In the case of exercise 3, completion occurs partly because students can follow each other's descriptions on their own maps, and are often engaged in helping each other to put together an account of a feature which they appear to share.

10.5.3.5 Summary

Ranking	M	SD	Ex 1	Ex 2	Ex 5	Ex 4
Ex 3	31.3	5.9	2.72 ^a	2.20 ^a	3.78 ^a	3.85 ^a
Ex 1	22.6	5.7		n.s.	1.86 ^a	1.46 ¹
Ex 2	20.4	8.3			n.s.	n.s.
Ex 5	15.3	6.1				n.s.
Ex 4	17.8	4.7				

(¹:t<.10; ^a:t<.05; ^a:t<.025; ^a:t<.005)

Table 10.6: All manipulations

Exercise	Feature
2 and 3	most repetitions/reductions
5 and 3	most expansions
1 and 3	most substitutions
1, 3 & 5	most completions

Table 10.7

Summary: manipulatory features of exercises

Overall, exercise 3 appears to encourage more of all kinds of manipulation than the others. This is reflected in the high level of statistical significance shown in the summary table 5. In fact, in each of the previous tables, exercise 3 regularly shows either significantly high incidence of the feature in question, or else does not show significant difference from a relatively high ranked exercise. Overall, exercise 1 seems to show a similar tendency, though much less strongly.

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On the other hand occurrence of repetition and reduction in exercise 2 and to a lesser extent in exercise 4 is relatively high. The grouping of the exercises produced by these results parallels to some degree the groupings found in the main analysis in chapter 6.

10.6 Conclusion

We have suggested that the explanation for these tendencies might be found in the nature of the activities. We have referred particularly to the different kinds of turn type, and the different interturn relations which appear to occur in the various exercises. In particular, it would appear that the cooperative/competitive distinction is quite important. Also, the level of detail required by the task is likely to have an effect.

One factor likely to dilute the statistical results is the internal variety of interaction type that a particular exercise encourages. This may prevent exercises such as 1 and 5 from registering quite such clear cut statistical scores compared with the other exercises. Indeed, as we pointed out in an earlier chapter (chapter 7) exercise 1 may be accomplished by using a quite different interaction type from that used by the majority of the groups (see group C). In contrast, there are grounds for thinking that exercise 3 provides fewer options, as well as fewer stages in the procedure. This then needs to be taken into account in considering the implications of the statistical analysis. However statistical analyses can be useful in order to pick out not merely extremes, but also less clearly demarcated cases.

Finally, we should reiterate that the sample is extremely small, and the incidence of the features under discussion is generally very low, and so any inferences drawn here must remain very tentative. Certain types of manipulation - sentence structuring manipulations, formal substitution and self-completions - have not been included in the count for practical reasons. It is possible that one or two of these categories might affect the analysis if they were included, although, on

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the whole this seems unlikely. In addition, the group effect referred to above (section 10.5.2) is likely to be worth separate study.

At the same time, it is reasonable to point out that many of the utterances recorded in the tables would quite simply not have occurred in a teacher-fronted classroom. Indeed, completions would not occur at all in normal teacher-fronted discourse, and reductions are traditionally discouraged by the teacher. A more general point is that all the manipulations reported occur meaningfully, which suggests that they are likely to be significant not only for the speaker but also for the listeners. It is worth emphasising that in the light of this study, language learning through negotiating meaning should take on a slightly fuller meaning than it is often given (notably in discussions of the importance of negotiating meaning for comprehensible input, eg. Long & Porter, 1985; Pica, 1987; Varonis & Gass, 1985).

On the whole then there are grounds for believing that even at the relatively low level of inter/intra-turn structuring, the exercise types have some effect on the way the language is manipulated at surface level. It is hard to exaggerate the importance of establishing the way learners operate at this level in communicative discourse, since this is the interface between specific instances of communication and the development of language knowledge. Communication is mediated by the words and structures which are mobilised to serve it. The way these words and structures are manipulated is thus of considerable importance.

All communication does not necessarily operate linguistically in the same way, nor is it necessarily all of equal importance. For instance, incantatory repetition, which might in certain circumstances satisfy communicative demands, might not facilitate language development merely because of its communicative status. It would depend partly on whether it was the only kind of communicative activity made available to learners. By using language for a purpose, learners engage in certain kinds of work, which may take various forms. This chapter has attempted to see how learners do this.

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We have looked at some of the linguistic tools learners may use; and we have observed some of the ways in which they may use them. On the basis of the data, we may be justified in concluding that firstly what we have called satellite units are commonplace in oral communication; and secondly that in the use of satellite and nuclear units, speakers use language in a variety of derivative ways. Chunks do not emerge neat, but are partly the fruit of preceding utterances, and may be used to make up ensuing ones. Finally, we have observed how the kinds of manipulation that have been enumerated can occur differentially in our five sample exercises. In the following chapter we will consider some of the general and specific conclusions that can be drawn from our study.

CHAPTER 11: DISCUSSION OF THE ANALYSIS

11.0 Introduction

The view taken in this study has been that a given exercise poses a (at least partially) predictable set of problems. The actual number and nature of problems that occur in any one enactment of the exercise may be potentially infinite. On the whole however, the vast majority are predictable to varying degrees (cf. Hargie & Marshall, 1986: 52 on the predictability of the interaction in doctor-patient interviews). Similarly, on the basis of the research, a certain number of strategies can be predicted which may be used by the participants in order to solve the problems and complete the exercises. The question however is not merely one of statistical probabilities.

Consideration of human information processing suggests that the solutions found by participants on one occasion are likely to be reused on another occasion. This is partly a matter of reinforcement resulting in greater facility of access: previously produced solutions will be more likely to be reapplied in circumstances which the individual or group perceives as in some way similar. However, this will not merely occur as a matter of sequential conditioning: speakers will also recall previously effective solutions to problems, and on subsequent occasions attempt to structure the interaction and express the information in similar ways. In addition, recall of the entire activity by participants is likely to be represented by recall of kinds of interaction, kinds of utterance, and kinds of task-oriented procedures.

From these considerations, one may conclude that a speaker or group of speakers will tend to have more problems to solve on the first occasion than on subsequent occasions, for there is a likely tendency to 'routinisation'. This is a characteristic feature of behaviour patterns discussed by Popper, 1972 (cf also Leech, 1983: 50). The fact that much of the innovative behaviour is random trial and error, and the subsequent reapplications largely influenced by the 'law of least effort', does not lessen the significance of the learning that is taking

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place. Widdowson, 1983, discusses a similar feature in the way creative use of language can become stereotyped:

[...]if a particular sequence of procedures becomes so favoured by custom as to become common conventional practice, then it takes on the character of a schema and becomes part of competence. [...] Consider the case of a particularly inventive use of procedures which yields a [new] metaphorical expression. This, we will suppose, is communicatively effective in that it establishes a particular frame of reference in an entirely appropriate way. Now if that expression becomes permanently attached to that frame of reference, then it will, of course, become conventionalized as part of the established schema.

(Widdowson, 1983:41)

What I wish to suggest here is that students doing exercises like those in the present study are to some degree involved in the same process. The teacher's understanding of this may enable him to select exercises with some awareness of their likely effects.

The detailed analysis presented in the preceding chapters provides the basis for two sets of conclusions. In the first place, the analysis provides grounds for suggesting that there are a certain number of reasonably predictable differences between the five exercises. These differences may suggest some implications for using the exercises in the classroom, and for developing further variants on them. The conclusions with regard to these differences, and the associated implications, are discussed in section 11.2.

In addition, however, the account of the characteristics of the exercises offers a basis for developing a rationale for the use of such exercises in general. For if the different levels of language processing occur generally across the various exercises, this suggests that these exercises may serve a useful function in providing such practice. Moreover, such a view may help us to understand better some of the ways in which the exercises may promote language development. This is the subject of discussion in section 11.3. First, however, it may be useful to summarise the principal findings of this study, and this is the purpose of section 11.1.

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11.1 Main features of the exercises

The analysis of the data presented in Chapters 6-10 has focussed on a variety of units, some of which have been subjected to a statistical analysis. The descriptive analysis has focussed on the following features:

1. Task Structuring
 - a) staging
 - b) exchange structures
2. Encoding strategies
 - a) syntactic encoding
 - b) schematic strategies
3. Turn types
 - a) turn distribution
 - b) turn length
 - c) turn syntax
4. Turn structuring
 - a) transforms

Broadly the statistical analysis distinguished between exercises 1 and 5 on the one hand, and exercises 2 and 4 on the other. In exercises 1 and 5, number and length of turns was distributed relatively unevenly. In addition, the mean length of turns was longer in these exercises. This was true whether turn length was calculated according to the number of words, or the number of moves. In contrast, exercises 2 and 4 seemed to encourage a more equitable distribution of turns and of turn length between participants. In these exercises, individual participants could less easily dominate the interaction. This is presumably related to the fact that exercises 2 and 4 were both card-based exercises, while exercises 1 and 5 were picture-based. Exercises 1 and 5 allowed greater freedom in the structuring of the interaction and in the distribution of speaker roles. On the other hand, exercises 2 and 4 allowed little variation in turn length, and permitted less freedom in turn-taking. This could be explained by the fact that the rules of the card-based exercises provided a non-linguistic basis for an equitable distribution of turns. These activities also provided relatively strong control on the nature of speakers' turns. For each of these categories, exercise 3 seemed to be midway between the two task types.

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Statistical analyses also showed that the same task groupings were distinguished by differences in the syntactic type of turn. In particular, the card-based tasks encouraged more phrasal turns and proportionately fewer clausal turns. Exercise 3 joined exercises 2 and 4 on this measure. In a further statistical analysis on a sub-sample of the data, it was also found that exercises 3, 2 and 4 shared another similar feature in that they encouraged more inter- and intra-turn transforms. As will be seen below, however, exercises 1 and 5 appeared to include similar features at certain stages of the activities.

The descriptive analysis of the structuring of the tasks supported, and helped to explain, these findings. In exercises 1 and 5 the participants used greater freedom in deciding how to go about the tasks. For instance, in exercise 1, one group employed a question and answer strategy for identifying the differences between the pictures. Other groups handled the task by first describing the pictures. In some cases this produced a highly economical solution: in one group, a student enumerated the differences on the basis of a colleague's description; in another group, after two initial descriptions, the pair of students rapidly and cooperatively enumerated the required number of differences. In other cases, the procedure was more elaborate and redundant. In most cases, repetition, and the account of further differences resulted in a greater amount of highly structured cooperative language.

In exercise 5, there was a similar variety in the number of stages used by the groups. Some groups produced highly abbreviated descriptions of their pictures, providing just sufficient information to sequence the pictures according to the instructions. Other groups engaged in more recapitulation and summarising. As in exercise 1, the different stages and the different approaches resulted in greater ranges of turn length and distribution.

In both exercises 1 and 5, turn type and length, and the use of phrasal as opposed to clausal units varied according to certain features of the interaction. It was noticeable for example that where groups checked on

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specific details, recapitulated, revised, or summarised, there was a tendency towards shorter turns, more repetitive transforms, more completions, and an increase in the proportional use of phrasal units. This also occurred markedly in two of the weaker groups (groups B and C), where it appeared that students found it helpful to deal with the communication on an item-by-item basis. This may well have helped to facilitate the linguistic processing, as well as provide the interlocutors with reassurance that the message was being correctly understood.

A similar tendency can be found in group B in exercises 1 and 5, where in order to help speaker 15, her colleagues produced shorter utterances, and used more clarifying transforms. They also phrased their own contributions in such a way as to enable her to produce short turns in reply. Thus, one reason for the longer, more clause-based turns may be purely relative: such turns can and do occur in exercises 2 and 4; simply over a cross-sectional sample, there will be a greater variety of types of turn, along with a greater variety of types of interaction, than in card-based exercises. This is of potential interest, since it suggests that picture-based exercises - allowing greater freedom of interaction - may be tackled using strategies practised in exercises such as 2 and 4. That is, picture-based exercises may incorporate a wider variety of features than card-based exercises.

Exercises 2 and 4 on the other hand provided less evidence of learners' choice in structuring their work on the exercises. Indeed, the task structures which were identified in these exercises (see chapter 7) were principally interaction structures. The execution of these exercises then was largely isomorphic with the pattern of turn-taking. The principal variations which we noted consisted of certain feedback routines designed to clarify aspects of the preceding utterance.

Exercise 3 seemed to constitute a slightly different case. There were certainly different options open to the students with respect to the order in which the map was covered. It also appeared that where groups attempted the task on a square-by-square basis they showed less

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preoccupation with the detailed lay-out of the geographical features than other groups. Instead they seemed more concerned to provide a superficial inventory of the features to be found in each square, and made less attempt to locate missing features with precision. Groups D, and J, and to a lesser extent group E, also showed more concern with the detailed orientation of the features, and this may be related to the way in which they approached the task. (We discuss the potential role of the instructions addressed to the groups in section 11.3 below.)

On the whole, however, the distribution and type of turns in exercise 3 seemed less affected by the general approach adopted by the groups. Turns were consistently short, and other-completion was relatively more common in this exercise than in the others. Even so, an impressionistic consideration of the data suggests that these features were more in evidence in those groups which were most seriously involved in achieving some precision in the way they completed the task. This would be a predictable outcome: concentration on detail, as we have argued in earlier chapters (see chapter 6) is more likely to give rise to short turns designed to check on new information.

We also noted that transforms of syntagmatically related utterances were more common in exercises 2, 3 and 4. However, these features were also present in exercises 1 and 5, and, as with some of the other aspects of these exercises, these characteristics may correlate with certain stages of the exercises, rather than occurring intermittently for no specific reason. Thus we noted that completions and various kinds of substitutions might occur more commonly in recapitulations and rehearsals, towards the end of these exercises.

Finally we considered certain aspects of the encoding used by the students. It is true that these are often inevitably a function of the specific pictures or prompt cards rather than of the task type. Nonetheless, the findings are of interest, partly because in some of the cases the language does arise out of the nature of the task, and partly because the encoding problems can be manipulated (for instance they can be made more or less complex by altering the material that the

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students are given, cf Brown and Yule, 1983b: 37ff, for the anaphoric referential aspect of this).

Syntactically, we have noted the frequent use of either existential or predicative structures. Existential structures were very commonly a function of the task type. For example, they are commonly needed in order to describe and locate features on the picture in exercise 1, and on the maps in exercise 3. In exercise 5 they are used in order to provide a preliminary description of the pictures prior to sequencing them; and indeed existential structures may be used in order to handle the pictures once they have been sequenced. In exercise 2, existential structures occur in order to ask questions about the mystery country; in exercise 4, speakers employed existential structures especially when adopting a defining strategy. Existential structures were commonly encoded in a limited variety of ways. BE was most commonly used in exercises 2 and 4; other structures were used in the other tasks.

Predicative structures were less common in most of the exercises. In exercise 2 they hardly occurred; in exercise 3 existential structures occasionally gave way to predicative structures describing the movement of features across the map; in exercise 4, predicative structures were used generally to introduce the defining feature of the target word in a relative clause. In exercises 1 and 5 predicative structures occurred mainly to describe people's activities or postures.

We also considered some features of the schematic strategies used in order to transmit information. We have distinguished between lexical and paraphrasing strategies. We noted an understandable tendency to rely on prototypical knowledge in communicating or eliciting words. This was particularly clear in exercise 4. However, a similar tendency was noted in exercise 5. Exercises 2 and 3 seemed to cause less of a problem in this respect: in exercise 2, this may be because students largely limited their questions to focus on the geographical location. In exercise 3, on the other hand, the features appearing on the maps were all linguistically labelled in the key, so that speakers only had problems when describing the exact positioning or direction of

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features. In exercise 1, the fuller more redundant descriptions (eg group A) tended to generate some need for paraphrasing, since speakers found themselves describing features which were perhaps not central to the task. In other groups, speakers were able to avoid difficult details by simply referring to easily named features. (We discuss ways in which the teacher can alter this dimension in section 11.2.3.)

The main features of the five exercises are summarised in table 11.1.

Summary of the features of the exercises

A. CARD GAMES

General

- More equal distribution of turns, and turn length
- Shorter turns
- More phrasal turns
- More repetition
- Staging isomorphic with turns

Exercise 2: Guess my Nationality

- Guessing routine, plus recursive side-sequences where necessary
- Narrow range of questions
- Routine use of questions
- Relatively few inversion questions
- Relatively few clauses
- Reductions and repetitions in questions and answers

Exercise 4: Ask the Right Question

- Eliciting routine, plus recursive side-sequences where necessary
- Four main syntactic kinds of elicitation, with WH- questions and declarative predominant
- 'Decomposing' or redirecting strategies sometimes used to stage the elicitation.
- Defining or questioning elicitations most common
- Schematic strategies - naming or paraphrasing
- Notable incidence of appeal to prototypical knowledge
- Some appeal to local knowledge
- High incidence of contact conjoining in elicitations
- Use of repetition or reduction in evaluations
- Minimal use of completions

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PICTURE-BASED EXERCISES

General

Less even distribution of number and length of turns
Longer turns
Divisible into various sub-stages
Sub-stages generate slightly different features
Overall: more clausal units
 more conjoining
 more contact units
 more substitution
 more completion
 fewer interrogatives

Exercise 1: Find the Difference

Main stages: question-answer; description-enumeration-
 recapitulation
Descriptions generally longer turns, less negotiation
Question-answer sequences shorter turns
Enumeration sequences - shorter turns
 more substitutions (contrastive)
 more completions
 more intra-turn repetitions
High incidence of existential expressions
Higher incidence of predications in description and comparison
of characters

Exercise 5: Complete It

Main stages: description-sequencing-checking-summarising/
 recapitulating
Longer turns in descriptions
Summaries/recapitulation: longer turns, and/or more completions
Exploitation of prototypical knowledge in cases of lexical
difficulty
Main focus on picture-sequencing, little narrative
Few repetitions of any kind

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MAP-READING EXERCISE

Exercise 3: Complete the Map

Focus option: feature vs grid
Unequal distribution of number and length of turns
Relatively low turn length
Relatively more phrasal than clausal units
Fewer multi-unit turns
Fewer interrogatives
Use of checking side-sequences
More repetition transforms of all kinds
More completions, including self-completions
Use of completions to describe extended features
Use of prepositional phrases & existential expressions
Some use of metaphor/simile

TABLE 11.1

This inventory of features enables us to make a preliminary suggestion of how an oral exercise typology might look. It might be represented as in Table 11.2.

Single exchange type
Multiple exchange type
+/- Collaborative
+/- Short turns
+/- Equal distribution
Recurrent linguistic features
 syntactic frames
 lexis
Use of syntagmatic transforms
Focus on encoding problems
Permits appeal to local knowledge

TABLE 11.2: Elements of an oral exercise typology

By broadening the range of exercises, it would be possible to explore further dimensions for classifying oral exercises. So, for example, study of discussion activities aimed at bridging 'opinion gaps' or at solving logical problems (see Ur, 1981 for examples of both) would show whether or not these further activities are essentially similar or different from the ones we have been studying.

In general terms, in the light of our data it would be reasonable to assume that the various features summarised in this section are

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'canonical' elements for completing the five sample exercises. They are levels at which the groups selected and applied effective routines for handling the exercises and achieving their objectives. It might be expected that inviting the same groups to reenact the same exercises, merely substituting different referents of similar levels of lexical frequency, would be likely to give rise to very similar features to those identified in this study. This at least is a testable hypothesis. If it turned out to be generally justified, then teachers could use these findings as a basis for exploiting exercises such as the ones used in this study in order to encourage language development. For example, varying any or all of the problems posed at each level might be expected to lead the groups to explore a wider variety of routine types, and thus induce them to move towards a more sophisticated level of language use.

Some of the ways in which this may be done will be discussed in section 11.2. Then in section 11.3 we shall consider how on the basis of our analysis the five exercises may be thought to encourage language progress in general terms.

11.2 Exploiting the exercises in the classroom

Why then should these and similar exercises be used in the teaching of foreign languages? What justifications can be given for their use to learners, and to interested parties (such as school administrators, ministries of education, parents, employers)? How can such exercises be systematically exploited by the teacher? And what sort of progress might testers and evaluators look for? In the present section we consider some of the answers that this study enables us to make to these questions. After that, we then look in the following section (11.3) at the more general justifications which may be offered for using such exercises, and some of the research that their professional use should encourage.

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11.2.1 Purposes of the exercises

In general, fluency exercises may be considered methodologically desirable because of qualities that they may all be thought to share. Several reasons supporting this view have already been outlined in chapters 1 and 2, and will be reconsidered in section 11.3 of the present chapter. As we argued earlier however (see chapter 1), such a view does not provide any basis for the teacher to discriminate between different exercises in selecting them for his students. It was in order to provide some such rationale for the use of the five exercises in teaching programmes that the preceding analysis of the groups' performances was undertaken. What then might be concluded?

Each exercise clearly presents different communication problems, or different constellations of such problems, and thus gives practice in solving them. This practice may be useful for the kinds of interaction, the kinds of turn, or for the kinds of language it encourages. We will consider the exercises individually from these points of view.

11.2.1.1 'Ask the right question' (Exercise 4)

In the case of exercise 4, clearly the communication problem lies largely with the card holder. His task is to elicit a word from his interlocutors. In order to do this he has to provide whatever clue he finds feasible and effective. This is a skill which is closely akin to those commonly called 'communication strategies'. In order to elicit the word, the speaker is likely to want to communicate the concept. This is precisely the nature of one type of communication strategy, as these are defined for instance by Tarone (1983: 72-3) or by Faerch and Kasper (1983: 36).

This is a useful skill. It may be useful to future teachers of foreign languages, since the foreign language classroom is, by definition, a context in which communication difficulties occur, whether this is due to the lack of the word or of the concept, on the part of either the speaker or the hearer. It will also be important for the foreign language speaker outside the classroom. Thus this exercise is one way

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of providing concentrated practice in communicating an idea without the conventional word or phrase.

The language forms that are likely to be practised most specifically are the simple present verb forms, existential structures, WH-questions or declarative structures, and relative or adverbial clauses.

11.2.1.2 'What's my nationality?' (Exercise 2)

Exercise 2 is a different case, since it involves guessing the speaker's meaning, or idea, without his saying anything other than 'yes' or 'no'. In interaction, this is the problem encountered by a listener attempting to help a speaker who is stuck for a word, although in normal discourse such questioning would be most unlikely to continue for as long as in the exercise. It also needs to be born in mind that the amount of various kinds of ellipsis occurring in exercise 2 makes it an unlikely tool for improving speakers' grammatical skills in producing interrogative clauses.

What is more likely is that such an exercise would provide basic fluency practice. Speakers are free to produce relatively incohesive utterances, whose main connecting link is the mystery topic running through the discourse. Discourse cohesion is unnecessary because of the fact that speakers are invited to produce independent questions, making the exercise similar to a brain storming activity. Thus the exercise is doubly abbreviated: it is syntactically brief, because of the amount of ellipsis tolerated; and it requires minimal cohesive devices. In addition, there are few constraints on the ordering of questions. Thus this exercise is most suited to developing lexical fluency around specific topic areas. It is worth noting that in several of the groups the lack of geographical knowledge on the part of the speakers rendered the exercise relatively uninteresting.

In addition to these features, in both exercises 2 and 4, clarificatory side-sequences - which can occur around all reciprocal interaction sequences - are also quite common.

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11.2.1.3 'Complete the Map' (Exercise 3)

In exercise 3 we have noted that the nature of the interaction does not change much from the beginning to the end of the activity. Many of the turns are relatively short, involving interruptions, completions, and various repetitions. In these respects it resembles exercises 2 and 4. These features of the discourse seem largely attributable to the need for the speakers to focus quite closely on detail. Interestingly, this produces a considerable amount of closely monitored language, which resembles the 'negotiation of meaning' discussed by writers such as Long & Porter (1985), Doughty & Pica (1986) and Pica (1987). In exercise 3, however, this feature of the interaction is focussed less on repairs, or on communicating ideas for which speakers lack normal language (which is the main concern of the writers mentioned), and far more on ensuring exact transmission of information, which as Anderson (1985) has pointed out requires attention on the part of both speaker and hearer. Such an exercise would therefore appear to provide particularly good practice in this skill.

Exercise 3 also has one or two other virtues. For one thing the nature of the task seems to encourage a greater amount of cooperative production of discourse. This may be because of the fact that the speakers have what A.Anderson (1985) has termed 'congruent' information on their maps: this enables them to help each other, and for one to take over the discourse from the other, or supply words when the other gets into difficulty. Also, and as a consequence of this, utterances are produced in short chunks, with further verb phrases grafted on to the structures begun in earlier utterances. This feature may be a help to the relatively inexperienced user of oral English.

One final feature of this exercise is related to its visual material. The fact that the constellations of features on the maps can sometimes form non-cartographical patterns is a basis for providing speakers with encouragement to use metaphor or simile in order to facilitate comprehension. Exercise 3 then can also be useful for providing practice in this aspect of language use.

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11.2.1.4 'Find the Differences' (Exercise 1)

At first sight exercise 1 might be expected to provide similar practice to exercise 3. However, as we have pointed out, on the whole exercise 3 tends to give rise to one productive interactive routine. In contrast, according to the data, exercise 1 is likely to provide three main kinds of practice: firstly, picture descriptions generally composed over long turns; secondly, question-answer routines, focussing on the presence and absence of features or of their characteristics; and thirdly, contrastive utterances identifying the differences. The second and third type of routine tends to involve the use of relatively short turns.

The picture description routine is relatively demanding on the speaker, since he is likely to be fairly all-inclusive in his search for potential differences. It is possibly even harder for the listener, since he may feel he has to recall all the features which the first speaker has mentioned. In contrast, the question-answer routine is relatively straight forward, enabling a greater use of ellipsis. The contrastive routine enumerates or recapitulates the differences, and thus tends to enable the speakers to operate collaboratively.

All three kinds of practice involve use of existential expressions, prepositional phrases and non-finite postmodifying groups. In the case of question-answer routines, there is a tendency to use YES/NO interrogatives, with the main verb consisting of 'is/are there' or 'do you have'. Finally, contrastive utterances tend to involve repeated substitution around the existential expression.

The main uses of this activity are less clearcut than for exercises 2, 3 and 4. Each routine, however, offers some worthwhile purpose. The question-answer routine is clearly of potential use for a variety of checking functions. As in exercise 3, this exercise is also likely to encourage speakers to work cooperatively. It is interesting however to note that only one of the groups systematically used this approach to this part of the task.

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A cooperative approach appears to be similarly promoted by the contrastive routine. This can be taken over largely by a single speaker. However, it is more convincing if it is done cooperatively, with both speakers checking verbally on what is said, and not merely taking the other's word for it. The substitutions that occur in this are likely to be seen by teachers as a useful form of communicative automation practice. The routine can also involve a certain amount of completion, or expansion. This may turn out to provide useful practice for weaker students, since by this stage of the task, participants are likely to help each other to piece together a statement of the differences.

The extended description routine is possibly less useful at lower levels. However, at higher levels of proficiency an insistence on this procedure might be one way of increasing task difficulty, for both speaker and listener.

Finally, as with the other exercises, this one is likely to result in improved fluency in the speakers' ability to employ the most frequently occurring language forms.

11.2.1.5 'Complete It' (Exercise 5)

Exercise 5, like exercise 1, can be completed through a variety of different routines. The picture description routines encouraged by this exercise tend to be more superficial than in exercises 1 and 3. Whereas in exercises 1 and 3 the presence or absence, and the nature and relative location of features are all potentially important, in exercise 5 it tends to be sufficient to identify the main theme of each picture for the groups to be able to sequence them. In addition, the sequencing procedure does not appear to engage much extended discourse, but rather a series of short descriptive turns naming the likely sequence. The rehearsal, summary or recapitulation may be a single extended turn, or it may be composed through collaborative short turns.

On the basis of this account, exercise 5 appears to be more use in two areas: firstly in generally encouraging group members to collaborate, since no one participant is likely to be able to manage on his own at

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any stage except perhaps at the very end; secondly, in providing the group with practice in an activity in which information used at one stage has to be cognitively processed a second time in order to produce a final configuration. This is nearer to a jigsaw type of task (cf Geddes & Sturtridge, 1976), and represents a small move in the direction of project work (consisting of several different stages, during which groups are likely to pool information in order to produce some joint result).

There is a further aspect to this exercise as it stands, which is that the tendency towards economy is likely to encourage students to be selective rather than comprehensive in the descriptions of their pictures. This, as we have noted, (and has been argued by others, for instance Grice, 1975; Richards & Schmidt, 1983; Widdowson, 1983) is an important communication skill, since nonnative speakers - like L1 users - have to select a cooperative level of explicitness.

The language likely to be practised is similar in the picture description routines to that used in exercises 1 and 3. There is perhaps slightly greater need to use finite identifying postmodification than in exercise 1. On the other hand, as it stands this exercise does not appear to be particularly useful in providing practice in the use of the past forms of the verb.

11.2.1.6 The practice of language forms

In general terms, the language forms that have been identified as likely to occur for the various exercises cannot be expected to be definitively 'acquired' or 'learnt' as a result of doing one of these exercises. For one thing, although some of the language is reliably predictable (for instance existential expressions and prepositional phrases in several of the exercises), many of the language forms used by the groups are optional. A second point is that the amount of practice provided by the exercises was rarely sufficient to provide anything resembling intensive practice. The use of WH- questions in exercise 4 is a case in point. Rather, the exercises offer students good reason to use one of a set of functionally equivalent forms, and this

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should encourage them, if not to produce them, then to observe and/or internalise examples produced by their colleagues, or to rehearse them mentally.

Like many exercises, these may provide the necessary catalyst for a learner to start to operate at a relatively stable level of productive use. But equally, they may help build up experience of the language forms for those students who are not yet ready to use them productively. In either case, it should be useful for the teacher to be aware of the likely use of the various forms in these exercises. For one thing this can enable him to refer explicitly in teacher-fronted classes to the language that may be used, or may have been used, in specific group exercises. It can equally well enable the teacher to enact similar routines in teacher-fronted work. The possibility of so relating group work to other modes of working should help to reinforce the language work and the interactional routines that group work is intended to promote, as well as increase student awareness of the importance of group work in the context of the language course.

Having considered the pedagogical value of each of the exercises, we turn to the question of the general relevance of the exercises in the context of a course.

11.2.2 Integrating the exercises into a course

There are two main ways in which exercises generally need to be integrated into a course - firstly through the subject matter, and secondly through some consideration of the nature and complexity of the processing demands of the task. The first we might call 'topic relevance', and the second could be termed 'procedural relevance'.

11.2.2.1 Topic relevance

We have already noted that in the form used in this study, exercise 2 as it stands might be enhanced by using it in connection with geographical studies. This would enable the participants to treat it as an activity for which they have some expertise. It would probably also encourage them to use a wider variety of topics for their guesses. As a

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result, the exercise could be expected to rehearse and reinforce substantial knowledge, through the linguistic device of separating the normal sentence subject (the topic to be guessed) from its predicate (the comment used as guess). On the other hand, exercise 2 could equally well be used with a considerable variety of other topics. Whatever the linguistic motivation for using the task, the principal relevance from the learner's point of view is the opportunity it offers to consolidate their knowledge of the world.

Exercise 3 is similar in this respect. Concentrated work transferring information from one map to another is likely to take on more relevance if associated with some subject matter, for instance the study of some geographical region. This would provide motivation for the use of the various terms describing and locating the features on a map. It might also provide some justification for the level of detail which the exercise seems to require. Finally, knowledge of the completed map could, in the context of a scheme of work involving a geographical topic, have some value in itself.

In the case of exercise 4, the nature of the task as it stands is less amenable to integration into any particular subject matter. In this case it is more likely to be justified by the nature of the strategies that it is training. This could presumably be relevant in a wide variety of courses. As we have already suggested (section 11.2.1.1), it is particularly suitable either for students who are about to find themselves using the spoken language in genuine situations of communication, or else for trainee teachers. Insufficient attention has generally been paid to the problems of L2 communication in the classroom of non-native speaker teachers. The interactive content of an exercise such as this would be highly relevant for such learners.

At the same time, instead of using a random selection of lexical items as in the present study, this exercise could be used as a vehicle for the learners to reinforce, and maybe test each other on, newly encountered lexical sets. Thus even this exercise can have a 'content'

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focus, while at the same time encouraging the development of communicative strategies or routines.

Exercise 1 is potentially relatable to any activity in which the students may be expected to differentiate between members of a set. White (1979) suggests a variety of contexts for such activities. There is a relation also to be found between exercise 1 and some of the activities involving the selection of candidates for some special consideration, enumerated by Ur (1981). On the whole none of these activities provide any justification in the subject matter for the skills being trained. A more convincing use for contrastive descriptions may be found in activities involving comparisons between the learner's country and one of the countries in which the target language is spoken, or between regions, or between lifestyles of representative inhabitants of the places under study.

Finally, exercise 5 (as White 1979 suggests for narrative sequences) could be related to a historical episode in one of the countries being studied, or to a biography or account of a journey. It could also be related to the study of administrative or judicial procedures used in a given country. It is not entirely clear, however, how the initial description of the individual pictures out of sequence could be made more natural. One way might be to present a series of pictures which could be arranged in various sequences, and which would need background knowledge deriving from an earlier class in order to sequence them reliably. For example, previous study of parliamentary proceedings would provide a basis for deciding a sequence of events in the passage of a bill. This might also be used as a context for exploring the notion of narrative plot.

The purpose here is to indicate ways in which the activities could be related to longer term schemes of work. It is in the context of such study programmes that each of the five exercises could be seen, especially by the students, as playing a more significant educational role. In each case, interaction processes, and the strategic work involved, may be justified by the content that is at stake.

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11.2.2.2 Processing relevance

Apart from the topics involved, the processing demands involved in carrying out the exercises may be more or less relevant to a given scheme of work. In particular, the tasks may be at various levels of complexity, and this might have implications for use with specific groups of students.

Technically, exercise 2 seems to be the easiest: syntactically in the sense that turns are short and of limited kinds of structure; and lexically, in that it is possible to manage with a very limited vocabulary. In addition, if the cards only refer to the same conceptual set (in this case countries), the same interaction routine, and even many of the same questions, can be reused for each card. This also makes it an exercise in which the students may be expected to make rapid improvements in efficacy and fluency. By the same token, however, it is not a complex or highly demanding exercise in terms of the language processing demands that it presents. In addition it does not require flexibility in the kinds of interactive role, the kinds of turn, or the kinds of cognitive processing which it might entail.

Exercise 1 is also relatively easy, partly because it can be simplified by the participants into a straight question-answer routine, and partly because the basic description which the activity requires is linguistically simple, both in terms of syntax, and the basic exponents needed. Even relatively weak groups seemed to handle this task, which also required no background knowledge other than a minimum vocabulary for identifying the main elements of the pictures. On the other hand, it is an exercise which the speakers can make more demanding if they wish. It enables the speakers to work through the material in more than one way during a single enactment, so that there is more opportunity for rehearsal and recapitulation, which can also be done through varying the kinds of interaction (eg long independent turns; short independent turns; short interdependent turns). This would suggest that exercise 1 is potentially more complex than exercise 2, and as we pointed out in section 11.2.14, it can be made challenging for more

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advanced learners. However, as we have said, it is reasonably accessible to less proficient students.

As we have seen, exercise 3 was similar in many respects to exercise 1. Yet it was undoubtedly far more demanding, and even relatively competent groups encountered difficulties in clarifying the location of certain of the features. For example, group D engaged in a very long repair sequence in order to sort out the exact location of a building, and its relation to two roads; group J on at least two occasions misunderstood a relatively trivial piece of information, and on one occasion apparently stopped the tape recorder in order to establish a point of contention. This suggests that such an exercise is genuinely more demanding, in terms of both productive and receptive skills, and provides a good example of how task demand can operate independently of linguistic complexity.

The difficulties experienced by the groups in this exercise are more a function of the level of detail than of the language items required. It is worth noting however that this exercise is interactively simple: there is little opportunity for revision, and on the whole the kinds of turns that occur vary less than in exercise 1. The only discussion that tends to take place is concerned with the way in which the map is to be processed. Interactively, then, groups tend to engage the same kind of dialogue from beginning to end. In spite of the simplicity of the interaction, however, overall, the commitment and perseverance required to complete this exercise would appear to make it more suited to intermediate level groups.

Exercise 4 was in a sense a deceptively easy task. Most of the groups were able to handle a reasonable number of the cards, and very few of the elicitations actually failed. However, the degree to which the speakers relied on prototypical knowledge, while understandable, suggested that they were relying more on the collaborative efforts of their addressees than on their own use of language. Many of the less proficient speakers made extremely weak attempts to elicit the target word. In addition, many (although not all) of the groups, including

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relatively proficient speakers, accepted inexact answers. Whereas the point of the exercise is to ask a question which will not merely enable the addressee to provide the desired word, but oblige him to. Acceptance of inexact answers is a way of reducing the onus on the cardholder.

It is worth pointing out that most of the words were common and concrete, making them less difficult than might have been the case. Thus in view of the simplicity of the words, and the relative inexplicitness of the elicitations, this would appear to be a more demanding task than certain of the others, and one which would be more suited to intermediate speakers. It could be argued however that the ability to paraphrase and circumlocute should be encouraged and trained at earlier levels. Certainly the performance on this task would suggest that there is room for improvement in such skills at all levels.

In addition, as the task stands there is less routine structural repetition than in exercise 2, as well as less lexical repetition. This also contributes to making the exercise one of the more demanding ones. However, if the words to be elicited could be controlled so as to engage very similar lexis and structure from one word to the next, it might be possible to make this a more accessible exercise to students at lower levels of proficiency.

Finally, exercise 5 shared with exercise 4 the feature that it was easier to do superficially than well. Also, like exercise 4 there appeared to be less repetition than in the other three exercises. However, as with exercise 1, the fact that it can be done at a variety of levels (contrast, for instance, the procedures of groups H and J in exercise 5) does enable it to be used with some success even with relatively elementary learners.

Despite this, the kinds of language practice obtained in the weaker groups (eg groups I and J) would appear to be superficial and fleeting (for many of the groups, as we pointed out earlier, this was the quickest exercise to complete). The reason for this is probably that

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the descriptions of the pictures need be no more than perfunctory in order to sequence them. Once sequenced, a summary of the story is redundant, at least with the instructions which we provided. For such groups, the exercise would be worthwhile if intended merely as an incidental break, since even at low levels of proficiency, groups would be almost certain to complete the task, while getting some early unscripted fluency practice of the kind Brumfit (1984a) advocates. Certainly they would successfully grope after meaning. On the other hand, a disorganised plethora of such activities might finally appear to the students as no more rewarding than it is demanding.

11.2.2.3 Summary

In general it would seem likely that exercises which offer the students the possibility of engaging in a fairly simple and above all repetitive interaction routine are more appropriate for low levels of proficiency. The main advantage that such exercises offer is the opportunity to routinise, and thereby gradually explore, a series of basic frames, possibly question-answer frames. This requires relatively limited language processing abilities, and should help the learner to gain confidence in his ability to run simple interactions, and to repair them when communication problems occur. Fluency in the use of lexis and structural frames should similarly increase. In addition, as we pointed out earlier, these activities seem to encourage more even distribution of participation.

One could argue then that activities involving less repetition (such as exercise 4), or a greater variety of types of routine for the different stages of the exercise (eg exercise 5), as well as longer turns, might be attempted once the learner has experience of the simpler exercise types. Among other things, it would appear likely that the routines used in exercises such as exercise 2, together with the subsidiary repair routines that tend to accompany it, would then be available for re-use in these slightly more complex and varied exercises. This would be consistent with a view of language learning in which complex language behaviour arises as a result of the individual's ability to call on a variety of learnt routines, which can be combined at will in

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order to carry out more complex tasks. It may be that in the initial mother-child dialogues described by Bruner (1983) and Wells (1985) there is evidence for something similar occurring in L1 acquisition. Some such basis for selecting and grading tasks might permit a considerable advance in the techniques used for encouraging second language development in the classroom.

Of course it can be argued that most of these remarks reflect not merely the task types, but the actual stimulus materials used. Thus for example, exercises 4 and 5 could be made much more challenging by altering the words or the pictures. Certainly there must be some truth in this. However, any evaluation of exercises has to start from somewhere, and has to consider specific instances. General theories can only be elaborated on such a basis. In this section we have looked briefly at ways in which level and subject matter might be taken into consideration in attempting to use these exercises to their greatest advantage. Further research can and should be carried out in order to demonstrate how far these strengths and weaknesses are a mere function of the materials used.

In this section we have considered the level of complexity of each exercise as it was used in the present study. However, it is also well worth considering how these exercises may be varied in terms of complexity and activity. This is the subject of the next section.

11.2.3 Varying the task demands

It is not difficult to envisage ways in which each of the exercises might be altered so as to increase, or decrease, the level of difficulty. It is also possible to imagine ways in which the tasks might be slightly altered so as to alter the nature of the challenge. Broadly there are two main ways in which the exercises may be altered: by changing the content, or the aspects of the content which are to be processed; and by altering the nature of the interaction between the participants.

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To simplify the discussion, we will consider the exercises in two groups, firstly the picture-based exercises and secondly the card-based exercises.

11.2.3.1 Picture-based exercises

Content difficulty. One of the aspects of task demand is the content that has to be communicated. There are two main ways in which this can be manipulated in the picture-based exercises: by altering the nature of what is represented in the pictures; and by altering the number of details represented.

Adding to the number of features complicates the speaker's task of interrelating them. Brown and Yule (1983b: 45) have similarly remarked that the task of reporting a traffic accident could be made more complex by increasing the number of vehicles involved. Similarity of vehicle is a further complicating variable. The more similar actors involved, the more distinctive adjectival pre-modification, or postmodification of various kinds that is likely to be needed. Thus in the same way, an increased number of characters in the picture description or picture sequencing tasks would be likely to oblige the speakers to provide more information in order to identify individual characters and their actions with the same precision. Including more than one character of the same sex, and similar age and dress would have the same effect. Similarly, the map completion task would be rendered more complex by introducing a greater number of features.

In view of the relative representational difficulties that speakers seemed to have in describing people, increasing the number and activities of the characters would be likely to create more difficulties than altering the numbers of any other features.

In the same way, in the Map Completing exercise (exercise 3) representational problems appeared to be greater where students were locating continuous features than where they were focussing on isolated features. Precision in locating isolated features would appear to be negotiated more economically than for the location of continuous

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features (like roads, railways, rivers, coastlines etc). This of course may be explained by the fact that the groups lacked the cognitive geographical skills, or map-reading routines, necessary to handle such problems with ease. Ability to use grid references, a scale, and the points of the compass might have resulted in their managing this aspect of the task far more efficiently.

More sophisticated groups may be encouraged to start their sessions by deciding which procedure is likely to be quickest or most economical. Discussion of this sort is likely to produce relatively more complex language, as well as raising attention to the coming task.

Adjustments may also be made which can affect the degree to which speakers will need to collaborate and monitor each other's contributions. For instance, in exercise 1 the speakers might be asked to identify the similarities as well as the differences between the pictures. This would have the effect of requiring the speakers to check at each feature to see whether there is both a difference and a similarity. And it might be expected to make it harder to recapitulate if it was necessary to recollect both similarities and differences. This increase in cognitive difficulty might be expected to result in more collaborative construction of the discourse especially at the recapitulation stage.

A similar effect might be contrived on the picture-sequencing exercise. Here, various demands might be made on each group to provide an explanation for the accident. This would require the students to clarify certain aspects of the pictures. For example, the fact that the cyclist is depicted as leaning forward, riding with his head down, might be used as evidence to suggest that the cyclist was going too fast, or was not paying attention. Thus it would become necessary not merely to sequence the pictures, but provide a substantive account of what happened and why. Incidentally, it might be predicted that this requirement would have the effect of encouraging more use of the simple past, and past progressive tenses.

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The general difficulty in processing the information might be affected by varying the amount of time that the speakers can look at their pictures. Allowing them for example to look at the pictures only up until they have all been initially described would require the group members to pay more attention to their own pictures. There would be likely to be more mistakes due to memory gaps; thus speakers would be likely to correct each other more, because of various inconsistencies which would be likely to occur. There would also be more dependence by all speakers on their collective knowledge. This would be likely to encourage the participants to consult each other more to check on information.

Interactional difficulty. There are various ways in which the picture-based exercises can be made interactively more complex.

One way involves turning exercises 1 and 3 from two-way into multi-way exercises, along the lines of jigsaw activities (cf Geddes and Sturtridge, 1976). This would have the likely effect of increasing the participation of the third and fourth members of the groups, thus possibly helping to improve the distribution of talk between the students.

In connection with exercise 3, one of the explanations we have offered for the large amount of cooperative language in this exercise was that two students shared version A of the map, and two shared version B. As a consequence, any one of the speakers providing information to the holders of the other map generally had a colleague to help him convey the information. One avenue worth exploring therefore would be to provide four versions of the same map, with any one feature or set of features appearing on two of the maps. This would enable each student to help - or be helped by a colleague - on the transmission of any given piece of information. This could render the whole operation more cooperative. A further effect of adding this dimension would be that it would become even more important for students to agree on where they are starting from, otherwise, the completion process could become very unfocussed.

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A final way of altering the interactional difficulty might be to require the groups to provide a public account of the event depicted in the pictures in exercise 5 (cf. Willis & Willis (1987) for a similar suggestion regarding the use of 'public' performance as one of a sequence of oral activities). The effect of this is likely to automatically encourage considerably more rehearsal of the finished story. With groups at higher levels, the demand here could be further increased by requiring the public account to be executed entirely from memory, without prompting from pictures or notes .

11.2.3.2 Card-based exercises

Content difficulty. It is relatively easy to vary the semantic difficulty of card-based exercises. In exercise 4 this can be done in a variety of ways. The words may be drawn from a lexical set, or single theme, or they may be collected at random. This may affect the degree to which the speakers use similar schematic frames of reference to elicit the target words. A strong tendency to use common frames of reference might be predicted if the theme has actually been the subject of recent study in the class. Another way of varying the content difficulty might be in the degree to which the words are all of the same part of speech. This would be likely to affect the extent to which the same syntactic frame can be reused throughout the exercise. For instance nouns may invite the formulaic use of the frame 'something which is..'; verbs might give rise to 'something you do...' Conceptual familiarity would be likely to affect the degree to which the speakers rely on prototypical schematic knowledge. Finally, there may be a variation in the degree to which words to be elicited are abstract or concrete.

In exercise 2, the difficulty posed by the content can be manipulated by the degree to which it is familiar to the students. In the case of the sample recordings, students were not prepared to handle the topic of different countries of the world. Preparation might affect the degree to which they are able to use a variety of different topics as questioning guesses. The exercise might be made harder by not limiting all the cards to the same lexical set. Thus a mixture of country, food,

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tool, sport, writer, animal, product might be expected to increase the difficulty of the task. The ability to reuse questions would be affected. The degree of familiarity of the words would once again be likely to affect the probing quality of the questions.

Interactional difficulty. It is difficult to alter the interactional difficulty of these exercises, in so far as the interaction is largely defined by the instructions. Change the instructions, and the teacher changes the the nature of the interaction. However, there are at least two ways in which these exercises can be made more difficult from an interactional point of view.

Firstly, the competitive nature of the exercises can be heightened by awarding points to the person who first guesses the right answer in exercise 2, or to the cardholder who produces a successful question in exercise 4. The competitive nature of the task is one way of increasing the pressure under which the speakers have to use language successfully.

A similar effect may be obtained by providing some kind of time limit. Thus setting a limit of 20 questions to which a negative answer is given is likely to increase the need for acuity in questioning. If a maximum of 20 questions is imposed whatever the answer, this is likely to create an even greater drive for efficiency.

Similarly, if exercise 4 were to allow the cardholder just one question, then the pressure would be on him to provide a well selected question. Under these conditions, the speakers would have to think effectively and economically.

The second way of increasing the interactional difficulties of these exercises is to require them to be done as team games in front of an audience. Whereas the suggestions for the collaborative exercises were intended to provide further opportunities for the participants to collaborate, the effect of the variations here is to alter the extent to which the speakers compete against each other.

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In this section, then, we have seen that it is possible to alter the exercises in various ways, so that the same exercise may be made easier or harder simply by altering one or more of these variables.

11.2.4 General: Enhancing Group performance

We have suggested that it is possible to integrate these exercises into courses in various ways. We have also identified ways in which the difficulty of the exercises can be varied. It is important for the teacher to realise that the selection and application of exercises such as the ones we have been studying needs to be done with some thought, and some sensitivity to the nature of the demands that are being placed on the students. It is not sufficient to merely set an exercise, and expect that all will be well. The recordings that we have been discussing provide evidence of this.

The most striking general point about the performance of our groups was that a substantial number of the nine groups performed rather indifferently, sometimes poorly. For example, exercise 2 was done poorly by groups A, B, C, F and I in terms of variety of question type; exercise 3 was done poorly by groups A, B, F and I in terms of completing the task; exercise 5 was done poorly by groups B and C in terms of efficiency or completeness. Even exercise 1, which was generally well done, was executed indifferently by group A, in the sense that they failed to complete the task to their own satisfaction. Group G handled many of the tasks more superficially than might have been expected. Since for one thing there was plenty of support available from the researcher and other staff, and for another the students were adult learners specialising in English, this gives cause for thought. What might teachers need to do?

For one thing, even though the materials for each task have detailed instructions, it is probably essential to check through the instructions with the whole class before groups get to work individually. Obviously other similar precautions can be taken, such as stressing to the students the importance of reading the instructions carefully. Of course, normal groups can be expected to get more repeated experience

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of such exercises, and learn to handle them more competently perhaps than the subjects of this study (although this would need to be confirmed by further studies).

A second point relevant here is that the exercises were attempted in series. In normal circumstances such exercises would each be embarked on for their own merits as part of a pedagogical plan. However, it might be worth stressing that some kind of incentive is needed to encourage the groups to complete the exercises as attentively as possible. We have already outlined in the previous section some ways in which this may be done. What is required in broad terms is what one might call 'feedforward' (or what Morrow, 1981 calls 'task dependency'): whether students are to report to a plenary session, whether they prepare for some sort of public performance (eg the Willis and Willis approach, 1987), or whether they are preparing information for some future task, there should be some reason for the activity to take place. Otherwise there is plenty of evidence that however ingenious the task, it can still be accomplished in such a perfunctory manner that little benefit - linguistic or human - is gained (a similar conclusion can be drawn from Hutchinson & Klepac's 1982 study, contrary to the authors' own views).

A further consideration is the question of group formation, and especially the length of time which a particular group should continue to work together. There is little doubt (at least judging informally from the success of the groupings in the present study) that on the whole friendly groups tend to work better than unfriendly ones. How far this is related to the similarity of proficiency of the people concerned is unclear. It would appear that relatively proficient students are happy to be together irrespective of personality. Less proficient students seem generally less at ease both with approximate peers, and with stronger colleagues. This in itself leads one to conclude that some degree of impermanence in the groups is probably desirable.

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There is also a further psycholinguistic reason for varying the groups, namely that there is some evidence that groups tend to produce their own formulaic solutions to communication problems. Although there are grounds for encouraging this aspect of language development, re-doing the same or similar exercises with different colleagues might also be a route to improvement: previously fashioned formulae of various kinds may be enriched by encountering some slightly different uses of language that a speaker has developed in his work in a previous group. Thus altering the composition of the groups may help to widen the range of language expression of individual students, as well as avoiding excessive dependence on a limited range of linguistic expressions.

A fourth point concerns the background or preparation of the participants in relation to specific exercises. For instance, on the basis of this study, students who are unclear about the location or culture of various well-known countries are going to experience a variety of problems, not merely linguistic ones, when attempting exercise 2. This exercise will also pose problems to those to whom a guessing game is a relatively unknown pastime. In exercise 1, students might need to have it stressed that the object of the game is to find differences between the pictures, not similarities.

The question of background or preparation reflects a more general concern which teachers may feel, which is that students should understand the purpose of activities in order to undertake them productively and self-critically. The appreciation of the purpose of an activity leads to the possibility of some kind of assessment, either by the students themselves, or by the teacher. There are various ways in which this might be done. One way might be for the teacher to discuss with the students before, and/or after, the activity some of the difficulties they encountered, and some of the language that they used. The teacher might also bring to the students' attention the possibility of doing certain of the tasks in different ways. And again, the general and the specific relevance of the exercises might be discussed.

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Finally, the teacher might well use some of the exercises directly between himself and the class (Long & Porter, 1985, and Pica, 1987 report the use of these activities in teacher-fronted classes). However, this would need to be used with care, since the teacher could easily be taken to be providing a literal model which students might assume they should imitate. Emphasis on specific forms, and on the accuracy with they are used, could effectively neutralise the main justification for using the exercises. At the same time, if fluency practice could be introduced into the classroom in such a way, the students' own evaluation of, and consequent participation in, fluency tasks in general could be radically improved. In addition, the technique would provide an opportunity for the teacher to engage in activity-oriented discourse (which would accord with Ellis' implied suggestion (Ellis, 1984b: 116-119) that teachers should assume various interactive roles in the classroom).

These observations although necessarily brief, and perhaps self-evident to some, are intended to lay some stress on the fact that even in unguided fluency work, students should be encouraged to attribute importance to the exercises. Such an attitude cannot be taken for granted, whatever the task.

In the last three sections we have been suggesting ways in which the five exercises might be used in courses, and varied so as to have a certain number of specific effects. The reader will undoubtedly have noticed that although these suggestions arise out of a detailed study of specific applications of the exercises, they tend towards a prescriptive mode, and remain conjectural. It remains for further research - of which action research is an obviously attractive kind - to examine the range of possible exercise types, and to study the effects on the students' language of altering exercises along the lines outlined here. We will outline some of the possible areas for further research in chapter 12. First however, we consider the general role of the exercises in the development of language ability.

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11.3 The role of the exercises in the development of language ability

In the previous section (11.2) we discussed some of the principal differences that we found between the five exercises. We will now consider what the present study suggests about the general role of such exercises in language learning.

Exercises such as the ones we have been studying have, as we have seen (see chapters 1 and 2), been the subject of methodological discussion for some years. Long and Porter (1985) distinguish between pedagogical and psycholinguistic reasons for using any given exercise. It appears odd to imply that psycholinguistic grounds for using a given exercise in the classroom are not ipso facto pedagogical, so in the present study we prefer to distinguish between two kinds of pedagogical criteria for using exercises: psycholinguistic and non-psycholinguistic.

Non-psycholinguistic grounds include considerations such as learner attention, group empathy, need for variety, examination schedules, learner motivation and interest, and learner need. These considerations are contingent on particular circumstances in which learning takes place. Psycholinguistic grounds on the other hand cover considerations of the nature of language knowledge and fluency, and the ways in which these may be promoted by specific exercises. We have already seen the various lines of reasoning which have been followed in order to promote the use of fluency exercises in language classrooms (see chapters 1 and 2). Several studies, notably Brumfit (1984a), have explored many of these views, especially the non-linguistic reasons. Our principal concern here is to draw some general conclusions about the psycholinguistic rationale for using exercises such as those in our present sample.

11.3.1 Fluency exercises for language practice

The levels of analysis used in the preceding chapter may provide a basis for discussing the major contributions of fluency exercises to oral production skills. They included the following:

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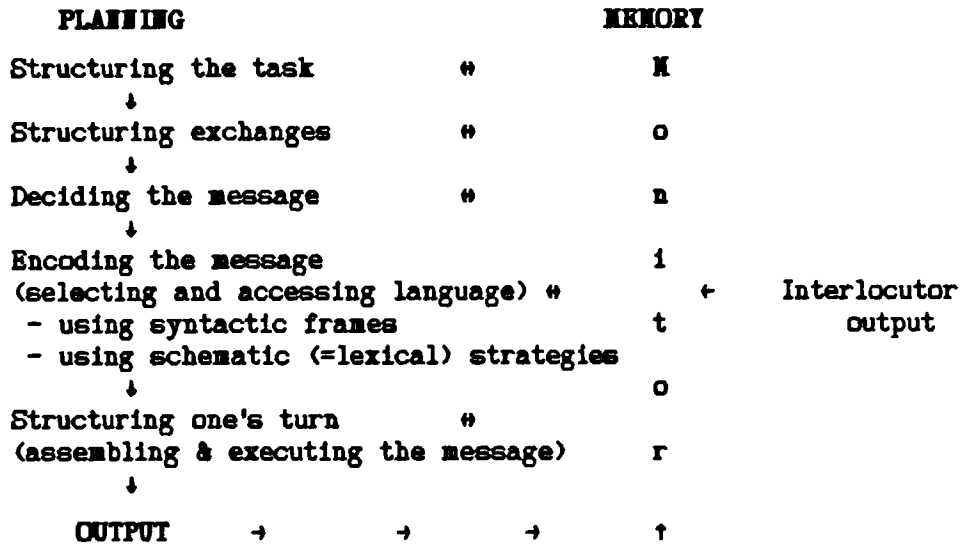


Table 11.3

Each level is monitored to ensure that discourse is proceeding in conformity with the goals and sub-goals involved in the exercise. (See Bygate, 1987:50; Hargie & Marshall, 1986:22; Faerch, Haastrup & Phillipson, 1984:141 for similar diagrams.) Essentially, although the diagram suggests a sequence of decisions, it is clear that the sequence can be easily reversed. For instance, a turn may be begun before the message is fully decided. During encoding of a message, an exchange may be restructured, and during execution of a message the task may be restructured. In particular, it is likely that syntax emerges as a result of lexical choices as much as the reverse.

However, the diagram is hierarchical in two senses. Firstly any eventual execution of a message presupposes some message content, it presupposes some selection of language from memory, and it presupposes some ongoing turn structure. Secondly, it is hierarchical in the sense that the shortest term decisions appear at the bottom of the diagram while the more lasting long term decisions, providing the context for the others, occur at the top.

Such a view of oral skill has two or three implications. Firstly, in the production of a single utterance a variety of levels of planning and monitoring are involved. Activities which require the production of

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utterances in the context of this hierarchy of planning and monitoring decisions can be considered to provide functionally integrated language practice. The decisions involved in language production occur not merely in a linguistic context, but within the context of the speaker's own goals, which in turn are to be evaluated in the context of the goals of the exercise which are shared by the whole group.

The hierarchy thus has a vertical dimension. The importance of this is that the problems of the manipulation of language, principally those of selecting language items with appropriate meanings, and combining them in accordance with the linguistic conventions of the language, are placed within a context of decisions about the meaning of the utterance, its acceptability, and under the time constraints typical of normal spoken interaction. In other words, the manipulation of lexis and syntax is impinged on by a series of other considerations.

The second observation is related to the first, and concerns the fact that this hierarchy, which provides the context for the speaker's decisions at any one time, includes reference to a developing memory of the preceding discourse, as well as involving the planning of forthcoming discourse. Thus the set of considerations that a speaker needs to bear in mind at a given moment interrelates backwards and forwards in time.

The final point to be made here is that, as in L1 reciprocal discourse, monitoring does not merely operate on the speakers' production: it focusses equally on the interlocutor's reactions to the ongoing discourse. On the basis of these reactions, or impending interruptions, alterations may have to be made, particularly concerning the communicative success of the utterance.

What is being practised in these exercises then is the speaker's fluency in planning, accessing, executing and monitoring. For instance the exercises may help the learner to improve his ability to access relevant language from his memory store. Part of this involves the learner in becoming accustomed to producing useful chunks of language -

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phrases or lexical items - with which he is familiar, but which he simply has not integrated into his communicative behaviour through lack of need. This is partly related then to memory, and partly to motor-perceptive manipulation skills. There are plenty of instances in the data of relatively competent speakers hesitating and re-starting utterances apparently because they need more time to access a given word or phrase.

Similarly, the exercises provide the speakers with practice in the syntactic combining of structures. This is something akin to a syntagmatic skill. Once again the data provides examples of speakers hesitating and altering the syntax of sentences whose initial version was syntactically perfectly acceptable. There are also examples of proficient speakers hesitating over relatively simple features, such as concord and tense.

In addition, practice can improve the speed and facility of the speaker's checking on details of information which cannot be merely taken for granted by relying on prototypical knowledge. It includes the selection of appropriate ways of expressing meaning, and at appropriate levels of explicitness, in the light of the interlocutor's knowledge. And it involves agreeing on procedures for completing a given task, and criteria for recognizing when it is completed. In other words, it involves the production and evaluation of language in relation to a plan, and evaluation of the success of the communication in relation to the plan in the light of the interlocutor's response. In a sense, all this is 'negotiation of meaning', and as such consists of far more than merely managing to overcome linguistic gaps, or repairing communication problems (negotiation of meaning is discussed further in the following section).

These exercises, then, provide what might be called 'integrated' language practice. This is a claim related essentially to the speed, efficiency and effectiveness with which the language is mobilised. These aspects of skill, especially that of mobilising given resources, may improve. Speed and accuracy may increase measurably. This however

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would not of itself constitute language acquisition, in the sense of growth in linguistic potential. Indeed, this study has not enabled us to make any claims regarding the way language learning progresses. Nevertheless, it does provide a basis for suggesting how such learning might occur. This is the subject of the following section.

11.3.2 Fluency activities for language development

In the previous subsection we have seen that fluency activities appear to provide useful practice in the use of oral skills. However, what of language learning? How might language acquisition be promoted through these exercises? In what follows we can only sketch an account of what might occur.

As we have seen (see Chapter 2), the main psycholinguistic theory with which fluency activities have been associated is Krashen's monitor hypothesis, with particular stress being given to Krashen's claim that language acquisition depends crucially on the learner receiving comprehensible input. Since in L1 acquisition comprehensible input is negotiated utterance by utterance with the child's adult companion, it has been assumed in a variety of studies that negotiation of meaning is the crucial element of oral activities. This assumption has given rise to doubts as to whether ~~MS-MS~~ negotiation of meaning can generate appropriate input (eg Aston, 1986; Ellis, 1984b: 115; Fillmore, 1982; Saviile-Troiike, 1984). Aston also questions whether negotiation of meaning is necessarily a particularly efficient or agreeable way of obtaining new language input.

We have already suggested in the previous section that negotiation of meaning involves more than merely compensating for language gaps. With regard to the acquisition of language, we wish to argue, along with Harley & Swain (1984: 278) and Swain (eg 1985), that the production of comprehensible output may also have an important role to play. Learning not only signifies an increase in number of language items known to the learner. There are various other ways in which learning may occur. These are learning through exploratory use of the lexis and syntax, and

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learning through routines. We will now discuss these two kinds of learning.

11.3.2.1 Learning through exploratory syntax

The first way in which learning of language may take place through the production of meaningful output, is by providing the learner with practice in assembling new lexically and syntactically acceptable utterances. Here the learner is engaged in doing two things. First of all he is practising the production of lexical units with their own dependent items (such as articles, prepositions and inflections). In specific detail, this involves selecting language items, and exploiting the contrasts between the members of the various grammatical systems in order to convey meaning. This involves learning in the sense that the learner is applying instances of grammatical rules and lexical items (and complexes of lexical items) to new instances of meanings. Secondly, he is engaged in tracing pathways between potentially relatable dependent units, especially word groups. This involves the production of new structures, or new combinations of structures, which are brought about as a result of various semantic decisions. In a sense the learner is here exploring the potential of the grammar to connect idea units together. Learning here can take the form of new configurations of structures. One principal way in which this may occur in oral activities is through exploiting the 'satellites', discussed in chapter 10. Let us see how this might be.

The distribution of satellite units provides evidence of the flexibility with which a speaker may draw on different kinds of units in order to maintain communication. First of all it is clear that satellite units occur as turns, or as parts of turns. We can not only say that turns do not need to be made up of independent finite clauses, but also that even when communication does require the use of such clauses, they may well be accompanied by satellite units. It is also evident that all kinds of syntactic units can occur as satellites.

The advantage of this feature of oral discourse could be that it can enable learners to practise producing dependent units appropriately in

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the context of discourse, without imposing the additional processing load implied by the requirements of having to produce 'complete sentences'. So, for instance, a learner may be able to produce dependent adverbial or conditional clauses, without also having to monitor himself for the satisfactory production of the main clause.

In addition to this, however, the surrounding spoken discourse seems to support oral production through the surface relations that it allows speakers to exploit. In particular, it is likely to be able to help in accessing vocabulary from memory. The flexibility of oral discourse can make it easier for the learner to pick up a lexical item offered by a colleague, or else to recover it from memory, before proceeding to weave it into a phrase or clause. Examples of this include the various expansion, reduction and substitution moves that we have been examining.

Furthermore, oral work allows a speaker to adjust his choice of lexical item, using his interlocutor as a sounding board. Again this can help the learner to cope with memory overload, while allowing him to practise his use of language.

The first conclusion that we would like to draw, then, is that oral interaction allows language work at the level of dependent units. This is important since it is a level which is not always given due attention in approaches to the teaching of language ability. The learner can, so to speak, negotiate his way towards clauses. Furthermore, in oral work, the learner can himself decide the size of chunks he wants to operate with, adjusting them - where he has the resources to do so - to his listener's level of comprehension. At the same time, as listener, he can intervene at those points where he needs the incoming units of speech to be broken down, working as it were towards 'parsing' incoming messages by interrupting and obtaining clarification where necessary.

More interestingly, perhaps, the data also reveal several reasons for the use of satellite units. These can be understood as responses to the

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demands imposed by the reception and production of speech. According to this account, the business of having to process speech for oral communication would itself constitute a mechanism for leading the learner towards using more complex language.

Where such an ability is lacking, the use of satellite units gives people time to think and prepare their messages; meanings are checked and confirmed; they are elaborated and refined; and they are focussed or emphasised. It is interesting to note that although the use of satellite units is possible due to the redundancy of the communicative situation, the units themselves help to increase the level of redundancy of the language in order to facilitate interaction. They thus provide an important strategic tool.

In this sense, there are grounds for thinking that, apart from the particular semantic challenge provided by any given task, the management of interaction (including the production of speech) itself contributes to the learning of language.

The present discussion, then, suggests that student-student oral interaction may help language development in two ways: firstly by the flexibility it offers the learners to choose, and to collaborate in choosing, the most efficient syntactic units for communication. This enables them to follow their own path towards integrating the grammar of the language into their oral skill. Secondly group interaction can contribute by the mechanisms it activates in order for communication to take place. These could be distinctive contributions of group activities to language learning, in which the learner's utterances represent traces of his own actions. For many learners this may be an important route for learning.

11.3.2.2 Learning through routines

The second major way in which learning can occur is through the learner's improvisation and elaboration of various lexical and syntactic routines. Many of the routines necessary for interaction cannot be easily taught. Some arise in response to the speaker's need to express

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certain ideas on more than one occasion. That is to say, the learner encounters a recurrent semantic, syntactic, schematic, interactive or processing need, and so reapplies a strategy he has already used. In chapter 10 we identified several such strategies related to the structuring of turns. In chapter 8 we identified others related to particular semantic or schematic objectives. In chapter 9 we noted the occurrence of a certain number of routines to handle the communication of problematic information content. This is consistent with the view, underlying a number of studies of the communication strategies deployed by speakers attempting to cope in a foreign language (eg Faerch & Kasper(eds), 1983), that the ability to negotiate meaning is an important part of communicative competence. In each kind of routine, then, the speaker is in effect exploring the communicative potential of his knowledge of the formal resources of the language. Part of the learning that takes place involves the learner in developing constructs of his own through the ways he happens to use the language.

11.3.3 Developing skill and knowledge in the context of routines

Overall, then, through oral activities the learner can be expected to improve his skill, and augment his knowledge of the language. His knowledge of the language increases both in terms of relations between words and rules and referents, and in the ways the language is used in order to handle clusters of features or sequences of events.

The importance of this view is that students develop routines of expression in response to situational needs, using language which is not prepared for use, or perhaps not prepared for the particular use to which it is to be put. Through the exercises we have been discussing, the learner gains personal experience of language as organised - or 'schematised' - in a variety of ways in response to what we have called 'routines'. The exercises offer the opportunity for the learners to engage in various kinds of routines. In due course, these routines provide the context for the mobilisation of further chunks of language. They also provide a context in which new or hitherto unaccessed chunks of language can be deployed. So, for instance, within repeated encounters of the same routine, the learner can progress from the

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production of brief utterances, to slightly longer utterances, in which he makes use of a certain amount of internal repetition and expansion. He can pick up certain production tricks appropriate to the handling of such turns, and in due course, develop further techniques for dealing with problematic utterances from interlocutors.

At the same time, the speaker becomes accustomed to conveying the information typical of routine situations, even if in a relatively economical way at first. The ability to handle basic information on the map, to articulate the existence of features, and their rough location, to check meanings, can provide the speaker with the ability to experiment with further and maybe more complex ways of expressing the same information. The same would be occurring in the other exercises. The contexts then serve as crutches to enable language to be produced: imperfect production will be comprehended by reference to the context. And with the confidence of familiarity, the speaker is likely to be able to mobilise more language. Gradually, over a period of time, the speaker will have built up a series of routines, in which he is able to substitute alternative words and expressions. These routines can be combined in order to enable the speaker to engage in a rich variety of kinds of interaction. A sophisticated language teaching methodology might attempt to combine varieties of routines developed through different kinds of group tasks into the context of the plenary classroom. And certain plenary class routines might be models for use in some kinds of group work.

Clearly, if learning occurs in these exercises in anything like the ways suggested here, then comprehensible input is only one aspect of many. Certainly study is needed to show how progress actually occurs. If this view was correct, then negotiation of meaning would then turn out to be a far more complex phenomenon than has been sometimes assumed. This study has attempted to show how these various kinds of 'negotiation of meaning' can occur in the context of oral fluency exercises, and to substantiate the claim that these exercises can provide not only practice in the various aspects of oral skills, but also provide the opportunity for learning. It has also shown some of

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the ways in which different exercises provide different kinds of practice.

11.3.4 Theoretical significance of this view

Much attention in the history of language teaching has been paid, quite rightly, to the absorption of new language, and ways of facilitating this. Thus one main component in approaches to language teaching has concentrated on organising the language, in the belief that an appropriate patterning of the language and an optimal rhythm of presentation are needed to facilitate learning. This is essentially the 'input-focussed' aspect of language teaching. There have been variations on this approach. One has tended to suggest that a high degree of simplification of the complexities of natural language data is desirable in order to accelerate learning. Others have tended more towards a view that natural language input is preferable, and that the learner's natural language learning mechanism is to be trusted to operate more efficiently than can any specialist teacher, or course designer. The recent movements advocating authentic reading courses, or emphasising the role of comprehensible input, or exploiting a 'silent period', have adopted this view.

The second general aspect to language teaching has been based on the belief that learning is facilitated by exercises. Learners will memorise best, and memorise and produce (or reproduce) most accurately, if they do a certain number of things. Here, the emphasis is on the processes engaged by the exercises. Once again some approaches emphasise a limited repertoire of highly stylised exercises. Others have tended to encourage 'fluency' activities in the belief that these provide a useful way of encouraging language learning. What is the role of fluency activities?

Generally speaking, most input and practice components have concentrated on structuring language at sentence level. Learners are provided with patterns and are expected not merely to manipulate these dependent units, the noun groups and adjective groups, but to embed them correctly in full, syntactically independent sentences. This has

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been true for receptive and productive approaches. Only recently has there been an emphasis in receptive approaches on allowing the learner to internalise language which structurally at least is unfiltered by the course designer. In this development, the learner's intelligence was trusted to trace the meaning through the naturally occurring syntactic sequences, and to store useful knowledge about the language. Reading exercises thus have started to focus on the cognitive content and rhetorical structure of texts, rather than only on sentence structures and grammatical rules, so that the grammar was related to (or indeed embedded in) various kinds of cognitive structures. The learning of these sentence structures and grammatical rules was not however intended to be ignored, but instead to be facilitated by making them into a covert part of the learning process.

A similar rationale is being suggested here for oral fluency activities. In contrast with comprehension activities, in language production the speaker has to take decisions, and he has to hypothesise not meanings, as in reading, but realisations. This is an important part of learning. It may be that it is a part of learning that cannot be replaced by any other kind of processing mode. For while there is a sense in which exposure to a vast amount of language may be an essential part of a course, by acting productively, the learner can assemble utterances on a piecemeal basis, and each new part can be tested against the interlocutor's response.

There is one final aspect of language learning that such tasks as these may promote. New linguistic information, procedures and processes need to be incorporated into the hierarchy of skills that are involved in any use of language. Language has ultimately to become a tool at the service of the learner for his own purposes. The learner has to learn to use language strategically, in order to do a wide variety of tasks. This represents Bruner's 'symbolic' level of learning (Bruner, 1966: 44-5), the level at which whatever form-meaning pairing the learner originally encountered, the pairings become progressively freed for re-use in countless ways. Thus oral fluency tasks provide essential practice at the three main levels of learning identified by Bruner,

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namely motor-skills, meaning representation, and strategic use. An integrated theory of language learning requires practice at each of these levels, and this is something which the five sample tasks provide.

In recent years, the learning of English as a foreign language has been strongly influenced by reading skills approaches. It is not the intention here to suggest that reading skills approaches are invalid, or that they do not have something specific to offer the learner. On the contrary, it would be surprising if the receptive processing of the printed language had pedagogically the same role to play as other modes of communication. However, the justifiable prestige of the written word should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the different mode of processing in oral production may offer certain learning opportunities not to be found in learning through reading. These opportunities may be more congenial to some learners than to others. They may also be of use even to those learners for whom reading skills have the greatest relevance. It is not merely the learning of oral skills then which may justify the use of oral group work in foreign language classes: oral production activities may also have their place in language courses for their effects on language learning.

11.4 Conclusion

There are of course unanswered questions. Most importantly, it must be admitted that the connection between communication demands, the strategies used for meeting those demands, and learning, cannot be established without longitudinal studies. Furthermore, the categories of analysis need further definition, especially the functional groupings. In addition, there is clearly a need for a fuller study of the surface manipulation of language within oral activity. Finally, there is a need for a fuller survey of oral exercises, in order to extend the typology. (We will discuss some possible further directions for research and development in the methodology of oral language teaching in the final chapter.)

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On the other hand, before undertaking a longitudinal analysis, it is necessary to know what categories will be analyzed. This study has identified a certain number. Also, there is a sufficient need for an understanding of the relationship between syntactic structures and discourse categories to justify an exploration of this kind.

Too often it is made to appear as though communicative skill and linguistic knowledge are not closely relatable. This may be taken to imply that linguistic development through interaction is a mysterious process, which has to be taken on faith.

The body of data we have been discussing encourages a closely argued connection between communication and learning. It shows, among other things, that communicative activity can in fact encourage precisely the kinds of structural manipulation which language teachers of many persuasions have long felt to be important in language learning. It suggests that, structurally, communicative interaction may be more sensitive to the learner's needs and abilities than other forms of language work. Finally, it enables the conclusion that many structuralist and communicative hypotheses are perfectly compatible.

CHAPTER 12: CONCLUSION

12.0 Introduction

In this chapter we summarise the findings of the research (12.1) and the principal implications (12.2). We then make a general evaluation of the study (12.3) and suggest possibilities for further research (12.4). We conclude with a brief statement (12.5) of the general relevance of such research to the language teaching profession.

12.1 Summary of findings

In this study, we have examined the language produced in five oral group exercises by ten different groups. We have analysed various characteristics of the language produced by the groups in each of the exercises. Although it might be thought that the main purpose of such activities is for the learners to memorise, or improve their ability to access, specific lexical items, this was only one of a variety of linguistic features involved.

The first part of the study (see chapter 6) focussed on aspects of the complexity of the discourse. The features examined included the length, the variation in length, and the distribution, of turns; the syntactic constituency of turns, in terms of occurrence of clausal and phrasal units; and the numbers of moves per turn. The occurrence of these features was counted, and an application of t-tests for independent samples showed several potentially interesting significant, or near-significant, differences in frequency of occurrence (see Chapter 6). It was suggested that these differences are attributable to different features of the exercises, and that they may promote differences both in mode and content of learning.

The study then developed a descriptive account of the substantial differences between the exercises. The main kinds of differences studied were differences in organising the cognitive content of the task, which we termed 'staging' (see chapter 7); differences in the

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structure of the interaction (also chapter 7); differences in the strategies used for formulating meaning, firstly syntactically (see chapter 8), and in the selection of schematic strategies (chapter 9); and finally differences in the syntagmatic transformations of language within and between turns (chapter 10).

In chapter 7, the study reported that in the picture-based exercises (exercises 1 and 5), completion of the exercises commonly involved more than one stage or phase of activity, in each of which the interaction was liable to be structured in different ways. These exercises also allowed students to use a variety of interaction structures, depending on what they found more congenial. It was speculated that their choice might be affected by their levels of proficiency. In the card-based exercises (exercises 2 and 4) on the other hand, the staging of the task was isomorphic with the canonical exchange structures. Indications of strategic staging were only found there at the level of message elaboration, when students sometimes dealt with the problem of eliciting a meaning by spreading the task over two or more turns. Finally, in the map-reading exercise, the choice of procedure tended to reflect the degree of precision with which the students were completing the task. The more the procedure followed the features of the map, the greater the concern with precision in communicating information, and as a result, the closer the exchanges resembled those used in the card-based exercises, involving the use of short turns, with a considerable amount of questioning and confirming.

In reporting, in chapter 8, the syntactic features used across the exercises, the study viewed the occurrence of these features as reflecting an encoding strategy. Various encoding strategies, related to the information content involved in the exercises, were identified, using for the purposes of this study a basic distinction between the use of existential and predicate structures. The various strategies could be seen as representing routines which speakers were developing through working on the tasks.

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Chapter 9 focussed on the schematic strategies used in the tasks. A distinction was made between naming and paraphrasing strategies. The use of naming strategies tended to rely more on the prototypical knowledge of interlocutors, whereas the use of paraphrasing strategies was more concerned with negotiating meaning by adding supplementary information. The use of these strategies was reported for the five tasks. The features giving rise to a notable use of paraphrasing were associated with certain of the cards in exercise 4, and with some of the more abstract or unusual visual information found in the pictures in exercises 1, 5 and occasionally 3.

Finally, in chapter 10 the study explored the phenomenon of the use of syntagmatic transformations (a surface-level phenomenon rather than the device used in TG theory), occurring within or between turns. Sometimes these involved the use of sub-sentential structures as independent units, and sometimes they involved the addition of sub-sentential structures to all or part of a preceding sentential unit. These transformations occurred partly elliptically (that is, in the form of various kinds of reduction), but also as expansions, functioning as tools for developing utterances within turns, or as substitutions, functioning to provide information which added, corrected or in some way contrasted with the content of a preceding utterance. The differences in occurrence of these features - summarised as differences of incidence of repetition - were tested for statistical significance on a sample part of the data. Results suggested that exercise 3, the 'Map completion' exercise, had significantly more of these features than the other exercises. This was attributed partly to the detailed communication of information involved in the exercise, and partly to the fact that the discourse produced in the exercise was of a relatively homogeneous type of exchange structure.

In chapter 11 (section 11.1) the principal differences between the exercises were reviewed, and a framework for an exercise typology was suggested, focussing on those features which appeared to have potential pedagogical significance. The results of the study suggest that the complexity of language can be affected in various ways by exercises

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like the five used in this study. These principally involve: length and distribution of turns between participants; extent of syntagmatic transformations; amount of collaborative language; number of stages and variety of types of interaction likely to be encouraged; and extent of routine use of syntactic encodings.

12.2 Summary of implications

In chapter 11 (11.2, 11.3, 11.4) we identified three main kinds of implications of the study. There would appear to be implications for the use of these exercises in the classroom; for the role of fluency activities generally in classroom language development; and for the place of oral skills learning in general ELT methodology.

12.2.1 Implications for the use of exercises

The general implication for the use of the exercises (see 11.2) is that each exercise is likely to promote slightly different aspects of language ability. Repeated use of a particular type of exercise is thus likely to encourage what might be termed 'routinization' of the various strategies that have been identified. Thus the same exercise may be reused with the purpose of varying certain lexical items, or of posing different schematic problems within the context of a certain linguistic routine with which the learners are familiar and relatively confident. Changing the composition of the groups is likely to encourage learners to vary their stock of routines. The corollary of this view of language learning through interactive tasks is that the use of a single type of exercise is likely to be insufficient for the development of oral skills, in so far as each exercise poses different problems to the learners. Indeed, overuse of a single exercise may result in the discovery of a highly economical routine, with a large amount of ellipsis, resulting in less active language processing. It was also suggested that the occurrence of syntagmatic transformations could be pedagogically significant if they functioned as tools to enable learners to produce meaningful language in real time. Research might show how the use of this type of transformation might help language learning,

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and the extent to which it might alter in kind and frequency as the learner develops.

There were further possible implications arising out of the relative difficulty of the various exercises, and suggestions were made concerning ways in which the exercises could be varied along the different dimensions of the typology proposed in section 11.1. Ways were outlined for relating the group exercises to teacher-fronted classes, firstly through developing connections between group and plenary activities at the level of the topic content of the exercises and secondly through using and developing the interactive nature of the tasks in plenary sessions. It was also proposed that knowledge of the kinds of language routines, and of the kinds of schematic problems, encountered by learners could be reflected in discussion or explanation by the teacher and class together. The importance was stressed of students' understanding the purpose and value of fluency exercises.

12.2.2 Fluency exercises in classroom language development

In section 11.3 it was suggested that the analysis developed through chapters 6-10 provided evidence that fluency exercises offer communication problems - and practice in coping with these problems - at a variety of levels. One important function for these exercises was to develop fluency in the use of known language. A second important function was that of encouraging language development. Two kinds of language development were suggested. firstly linguistic development arising through the exploration of new meanings and collocations for familiar language; and secondly, development of routine uses of language for routine interactional or referential problems encountered during the tasks. It was argued that this account of the use of fluency exercises involved far more than the negotiation of comprehensible input. In addition, it was suggested that in the light of this study, the notion of 'negotiation of meaning' involved more than just the repair work required by the speakers' awareness (real or imagined) of linguistic gaps.

12.2.3 The role of oral skills in general ELT methodology

In section 11.4 it was argued that oral fluency exercises had a possibly unique role to play in language learning. This was attributed to the short-term planning involved in oral interaction, and the phrase-by-phrase feedback which listeners provide to speakers. It should be pointed out that the presence of interlocutors can also provide two further features, namely the group's need for the speaker's help in completing the task (see Blumberg, Davis and Kent, (1986) for more discussion of the effect of groups) as well as the assistance which listeners can also provide. Also likely to be specific to oral interaction was the opportunity for the speaker to operate with the size of language unit - even just single words if necessary - which he finds most manageable, obviating the need to produce full sentential utterances. Thus oral interaction is likely to be uniquely sensitive to the fluency, knowledge, and degree of 'schematisation' of the language of given speakers.

It was suggested that these features might be specific to oral exercises, that they might be particularly congenial to some learners, and that they might offer many learners an important enrichment to other modes of learning. In particular, these characteristics contrast interestingly with the modes of learning in structured grammar practice or through activities related to writing. It was noted that learners having difficulty with the management of long, semantically dense or syntactically complex chunks of language might find these features of oral language processing helpful and stimulating.

Finally, it might be appropriate to add that the use of oral activities might have an important educational function not necessarily to be found in the use of other skills. We might identify four of these here: firstly, the opportunity to speak involves the opportunity to test out and explore one's language knowledge, and develop it with the unobtrusive help of peers; secondly it offers the opportunity to express and evaluate ideas and opinions, rather than concentrate on pure reception of information; thirdly it provides 'here and now' practice of the language, that is, practice in the immediate present;

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and finally, it enables speakers to experience some of the cultural and psychological implications of using another language to express one's own thoughts, feelings and, indeed in some respects one's own identity. Educationally, then, unscripted oral group work can be seen as fulfilling an important function in the foreign language classroom (cf Abbott, 1987; Cook, 1983).

12.3 Evaluation of the research

The research reported here has on the whole demonstrated ways in which the exercises that were used may be completed by groups of non-native learners. It has shown that the exercises provide different problems at different levels, and has gone some way towards substantiating the argument that the different exercises, by virtue of the aims and means prescribed by the instructions, give rise to differences in the kinds of language practice that they promote. By describing these features, the study also provides substance to the assertion that through such learning exercises learners may improve their knowledge of the language. Aspects of the data show ways in which this assertion may be valid.

On the other hand, it must be recognised that the research is not without its inadequacies. It may be criticised on the grounds of the representativity of the data; the scope of the research; the nature of the analysis; and the significance of the results. I will deal with these criticisms in turn, listing the main objections and providing justification where possible, under each heading.

12.3.1. The representativity of the data

One potential criticism is that the sample of speech, although relatively large in comparison with some research projects, is nonetheless the product of a relatively small population. In addition, because of various accidents in the collection of the data, the groups were not consistently formed of the same numbers of students, and recordings were not obtained for the same numbers of groups across the exercises. It might also be objected that all the groups share the same

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dominant language, and that speakers of other languages or from other cultures might handle the exercises in other ways. In addition, the data was not collected in the context of a typical learning situation, and this was the first time most of the participants had encountered such exercises. This, and the novelty of being recorded, might, and in some cases probably did, affect certain aspects of the data.

In response to such criticisms, it must be accepted that the basis of the data is very limited. However, although the sampling is not ideal, the results provide a basis for exploring the distinctions which have provided the main focus of the study. Certainly, on the basis of Brumfit's (1977) appeal for a large number of studies looking into a relatively narrow topic, it can be argued that the present study provides a starting point. It is also open to refutation. For instance, the findings can at least be contradicted by other studies. Swan's (1987) recent criticism of the narrow data-base used by researchers into variability in interlanguage suggests that the size of the sample used in this study is unusually large. For present purposes it might be more satisfactory to argue that this study, without overcoming all Swan's objections, nonetheless is a large step in the right direction.

The observer-effect, the context of collection and the background of the speakers are always likely to be limitations. By taking a sample and observing it a researcher is necessarily attempting to make generalisations on the basis of a specific group, and may be contaminating the data by his presence. That this is a hindrance should be given no more importance than should the fact that any teacher has to work within the same limitations. Indeed it might well be argued that teachers might record group activities on a frequent basis. Thus these limitations are not in fact limitations, but rather strengths: apart from attempting to sustain a hypothesis with respect to the differences in the language used on the various exercises, the study also confronts the problems of description and evaluation of learner performance which are properly the domain of teachers and testers.

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In addition, it must be emphasised that the peer-group atmosphere provided by the oral interaction exercises used in this research does at least resemble the normal context of communication more closely than several of the research designs reported in Færch & Kasper, 1983. In particular, the fact that the recordings were made with no intention of evaluating the students, and in a manner in which the students were obliged to focus on the content of the communication they were engaged in suggests that the data collected was probably reasonably representative of normal group interaction.

12.3.2 Scope of the research

It can be argued that a wider set of exercises should be used, in order to obtain greater certainty that the differences identified really are central. It is possible for instance that the five exercises would turn out to have more features in common than separating them if they were compared with any further exercises.

There is some justification for this view, and indeed we suggest in section 12.4 the need to extend the inquiry to further exercises. However, if the size of the sample is adequate, then clearly, increasing the number of exercises on the same amount of data would have provided less representative results on any one exercise. In addition, the parameters on which differences have been found between the present five exercises are so varied that there is little basis for suggesting that the present study is artificially reductionist. On the contrary, it could be argued that more levels of analysis have been used than were strictly necessary. Finally, an exploration has to start somewhere. Thus any choice of exercises could be shown by later research to have omitted a crucial factor. In a sense then, these results, like any future ones, remain hypothetical in the Popperian sense.

There is one aspect of the analysis which deserves further consideration, and that is an exploration of oral foreign language skill. The present study has examined the structuring of discourse in the light of interactional and cognitive pressures. However, it does not attempt to examine the nature of spoken language skill in relation to

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constraints such as time limitations or stress. There is little doubt that progress in the understanding of oral language development depends on further study of the nature and development of fluency, as distinct from the linguistic forms and strategies which speakers use on given tasks. Thus the incidence of such features as hesitation, repetition, structural and lexical recurrence, syntactic complexity, pausing, false starts, self-correction, evenness and speed of delivery need to be considered as indicators of level of oral proficiency, as distinct from a more general language proficiency. It is true that a certain number of studies have explored aspects of this topic (eg. Bock, 1987; Garrett, 1980), but little has been done to date in the area of foreign language ability. As far as the present study is concerned, despite the identification of a certain number of formal features (discussed in chapter 6 above), on the whole this project has little to contribute to a view of the dynamic aspect of spoken language skill.

12.3.3 Nature of the analysis

A further objection can be made to the effect that the units of analysis are in some way inadequate, or inadequately used. This may be because they are inappropriate; or because they have been inadequately applied (for instance, statistical analyses could have been applied further).

With regard to appropriacy, the breadth of the analysis suggests that this criticism has little validity. The objective was to 'unpackage' the nature of the discourse entailed by the brief instructions and accompanying materials, which do not themselves give much indication of the language that is to be expected. From ten to twenty minutes' activity ensues following the reading of the instructions, and it is this activity which is the purpose of the exercise. Thus in attempting to understand what happens during this period of time, it made sense to be comprehensive rather than restrictive in the units of analysis used, and to trace the effects of the exercise from the overall goal-oriented structures of the interaction down to the fine detail of the language used. At the same time, the units of analysis used in this study

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provide a basis for the selection or elaboration of units for further analysis in future studies.

It could also be argued that there has been an excessive emphasis on product as opposed to process. This is undoubtedly true. The present writer would argue however that only an increase in studies of similar data is likely to help complete this aspect of the picture.

As regards application of the analysis, it is true that a statistical analysis could have been applied to the staging, structuring and schematic strategies. However, the main purpose of the statistical analysis in the present study has been to establish some consistency with regard to the most striking differences that were noted. On the other hand, there is more substance to the exercises than merely statistical differences, and a qualitative account of certain of the structures - for which on occasion no comparable feature can be found in other exercises - was likely to be of more value to professionals in the field. In future however it might be worth considering undertaking a statistical analysis of the use of certain of the routines discussed in chapter 8.

12.3.4 Significance of the results

The significance of the results depends firstly on whether they can be related to learning, and secondly on whether teachers can use them. Firstly, it is undoubtedly true that the study does nothing to show learning taking place in the context of (let alone as a result of) the use of any of the exercises. This is information which is sorely needed. The fact that learning is an elusive process which is hard to observe taking place (other than in fairly limited ways) only makes it more desirable to have some evidence of the learning profiles which can occur in the context of these activities. However, in spite of this, it can be said that a variety of suggestions have been made in the context of the present study, which have been all the more specific for being based on examples of language production. This helps to make it possible to focus on a variety of these particular features in further studies.

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With regard to the possible use that teachers can make of the findings, this is a matter for professional judgement and practical experience, and it would be presumptuous to speak for other professionals on this point. In this writer's view, however, there are grounds for believing that knowledge about routines developed during enactment of the tasks may be relevant in the selection of exercises for use in the classroom, as well as for explanation of the purpose of, and discussion of ways of doing, the exercises for learners. An understanding on the part of the teacher of the nature of the interactions in group tasks also suggests the possibility of his developing similar patterns of interaction in plenary sessions. For instance, question/answer games and activities, descriptions, sequencing and instruction routines could be used in classroom management, in reviewing work, and in direct teacher-class problem-solving tasks (cf Pica, 1987 for an example of this last, and Ellis, 1984b for discussion of the possible roles of the teacher).

Furthermore, an appreciation of the complexity and of the potential task demands confronting speakers in these exercises suggests ways in which tasks may be simplified and prepared through related activities to help speakers to manage on their own. This might take the form of exploring the use of grid references and orientation procedures before using maps in groups; reviewing characteristics and locations of countries before doing an activity such as 'Guess my Nationality'; or using stories or pictures with fewer details, so that speakers become aware of a progression in the difficulty of the tasks that they are being asked to handle.

There is one final criticism that may be made here of the implications of this approach, and this is that the research methodology is normalistic and thus potentially prescriptivist, whereas the purpose of fluency activities in the methodology of language teaching is precisely the opposite (a further related criticism of the value of descriptive educational research will be discussed below in section 12.5).

Although the present writer has considerable sympathy with the concerns of this potential criticism, the nature of the exercises is on

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the whole such that the teacher is unlikely to be able to be prescriptivist on the basis of the present findings. It is clear that speakers have such a variety of problems to deal with during the course of one of the exercises that it would be unhelpful for teachers to drill or instruct the students to use certain language in given tasks. On the contrary, in the present study, the emphasis has been laid on the wide variety of strategies which speakers can use, as well as on the fact that they use them in response to the demands of the exercises, rather than in response to instructions from a teacher. The patterns found in the data are not generally in terms of presence or absence, but in terms of more or less. And, it should perhaps be stressed that the greater the variety of ways in which an exercise can be done, the richer the exercise. Care should be taken, then, by teachers to ensure that any insights derived from studies such as these are used in order to enhance learner's progress towards fluency.

On the other hand to suppress information about any given regularities would be tantamount to consigning teachers to working blindfolded on the grounds that knowledge is dangerous. On the contrary, if it is now possible to study in depth the learning of first languages in naturalistic surroundings, it should be possible to study unscripted language used in various classroom settings. Knowledge itself is less the problem than what teachers choose to do with it. Prescriptivist teachers are unlikely to become more prescriptivist by following the logic of the argument outlined in the preceding chapters. On the other hand, doubting teachers may be encouraged to entrust their students to activities like these five on the basis of greater insights into the mechanisms that the exercises give rise to.

12.3.5 The study in the context of SLA

In general terms, research into the process, rather than the product, of classroom language learning has begun to increase in recent years. Much remains to be done, however, and it is the position of this writer that it is in the classroom, and with pedagogical materials and activities that it needs to be done. This is likely to throw a clearer light on language development in the context of various kinds of teacher

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intervention. So far little research systematically observes unscripted dialogue.

Lightbown (1985) argues that 'only research which is pedagogically based and which asks pedagogical questions can be expected to answer pedagogical questions', and that these questions will have to be 'formulated at least partly in terms of what is known from language acquisition research'(183). And indeed it is only through research in the context of pedagogical activities that information can be found about the effects of the teacher's intervention in the classroom. However, it might do a service to teachers in general to suggest that learning can only be studied in any case when it occurs in some context. Thus it is of utmost importance to know not merely what second language acquisition is like in naturalistic surroundings, but in the large variety of conditions which the teacher can initiate and manipulate. It is this area of research which the present author considers crucial for research into classroom language development, to advance knowledge about the acquisition of language in relation to teacher intervention.

Lightbown does not appear to agree:

[...] pedagogical research cannot answer fundamental questions about the nature of language acquisition - nor should it be expected to. But it can answer some short-term questions about 'what works'. Such short-term results are useful for getting teachers from day to day while they await the fulfillment of the great expectations from what might be called basic or non-applied (or even 'pure') research.

(1985:183,original emphases)

It could be argued that since learning only occurs in some context, such 'pure' research cannot itself exist. In fact, however, it is plain that whatever results 'pure' research might present to the teaching profession, teachers will still need to research the application or relevance of these results to the classroom. In the light of this, it is to be hoped that institutions will encourage the development of research corresponding to their own needs and populations. The present study is intended to be a small contribution in this direction.

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12.4 Possibilities for further research

It might be appropriate to suggest some directions for further research, of which two are particularly striking. The first is further to explore the nature of known exercise types. The second would be to examine the relationships between such exercises and a range of student variables.

12.4.1 Extending research into exercise types

This study has provided an initial basis for mapping out a skill-based typology of oral exercises. Analysis applied to a wider variety of sample exercises would make it possible to provide a more complete picture of the kinds of group work available to teachers. Other types of exercise worth studying include brainstorming exercises; instruction-based exercises; narrative exercises; functional dialogue exercises; logical problem-solving exercises; opinion-based problem-solving exercises; and variations of teacher-fronted exercises. The list is of course potentially limitless, as pedagogic ingenuity and insights gained from investigation into existing types gives rise to new types. In each case it would be potentially useful to identify systematic differences in the discourse which could be exploited by the teacher in relation either to the student's level or to the aspect of oral skills which he wished to promote.

As we have seen (see chapter 2), some research has already been reported by writers such as Long & Porter (1985), Doughty & Pica (1986), Brown, Anderson, Shilcock & Yule (1984), Anderson (1985) on the effect of making the information flow one- or two-way, with or without shared congruent information. However, as our study has shown, even within these categories, further differences become apparent. In addition, many exercises, and indeed much communicative discourse inside and outside the classroom, is not based on information transfer. Thus it would be worth extending the research to include kinds of exercises which do not have an information gap. This might help to provide a picture of a wider variety of oral exercises, and encourage

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classroom use of a fuller range of exercises than has perhaps been the case in recent years.

In general, it would be of practical interest to assemble a fuller and more widely validated picture of the exercises, enabling a clearer view of the interrelationships between them. For instance, there might be an inclusive relationship between certain types of exercise (for instance between more complex extended exercises such as our exercise 1 and 5, and simpler monothematic exercises such as exercise 3). Other pairs of exercises on the other hand might have consistently contrasting characteristics (eg exercises 2 and 4).

A related topic for further consideration is the variety of possible strategies which groups might employ in order to handle different exercises. The present study has found that one or two of the exercises (especially exercise 1, the 'Find the Difference' exercise) can be tackled in at least two quite distinct ways. Others (most notably exercise 2, 'Guess my Nationality') allow groups far less freedom of approach (although even here, groups can guess randomly, or else probe systematically). This would be a subsidiary dimension of the exercise typology, and would enable a more complete characterisation of each of the exercises. Research of this kind would be of help to teachers, as well as to materials writers and teacher trainers.

12.4.2 Exercises and student variables

A second major area of valuable research concerns the relationships between exercises and student variables. For instance, it would be of interest to know the typical differences in performance between groups of different levels of proficiency. In certain exercise types, the differences may be largely of fluency (one thinks for instance of exercise 2, in which the various levels of performance, including the formulaic strategies, require a limited range of turn types). In others, the differences may also affect such details as turn type and frequency of use of side-sequences (eg exercise 3), range of schematic strategies (exercise 4) or numbers and types of stages (eg exercise 5). A coherent account of such differences in performance across a variety of

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exercises for different levels of proficiency would enable teachers and institutions to form a more complete picture of what is meant by 'level of proficiency'. These concerns would evidently relate to some of the preoccupations of testers, notably the definition of units of analysis and evaluation of oral proficiency (cf Bachmann & Palmer, 1984; Stern 1983: 347ff for some discussion of this). Such concerns are crucial to a variety of decisions in classrooms and in departments.

So a coherent and stable language teaching methodology requires some understanding of how proficiency develops. Such an account however needs to be elaborated locally. We have already suggested above (see section 12.3) that there is a need to develop local accounts of the development of language proficiency. Here too we come to the conclusion that an understanding of levels of proficiency and of the way such proficiency develops needs to be elaborated and/or validated locally, possibly for each institution. For one thing, as we have seen the hypothesis of some universal pathways to language acquisition can in any case only be validated in the context of the professional experience of specific institutions. Furthermore, such universals as may be found may only turn out to account for an insignificant proportion of language development.

Finally, the only practical justification for any such account of language development is its potential use by specific institutions; to be useful to any given group of teachers, such accounts need to focus on variables and populations of local concern. What might constitute significant stages of development and relevant units of analysis in a longitudinal study of learners progressing from the level of absolute beginners to the level of native-like proficiency might be quite irrelevant for a university department which takes students on entry at intermediate level on a three year degree course, or for another such department which has to take first year students as false beginners. The rhythm and significant stages of oral language development in these institutions may be quite different from that of a generalised 'abstract' model. Furthermore, the linguistic, educational and cultural contexts (including such independent variables as literacy, family

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background and attitudes, age at inception, size of class and length and intensity of instruction) of different institutions may equally affect the variables which an institution may come to perceive as relevant in the overall development of the students.

It is reasonable to conclude then that studies such as the present one are merely indicative of what could be achieved if similar research was undertaken across language levels in specific institutions.

There are two other related areas which deserve exploration. One is the importance of group composition on the work of small groups. For example, does it matter whether groups are mainly dyads, triads or tetrads? What kinds of characteristic effects do such features as cooperation and competitiveness, or hostility, have on the discourse? How far are such features affected by group self-selection and familiarity? These dimensions have been studied in the context of general monolingual group activities (see for instance various discussions in Hargie (1986), eg. Blumberg, Davis & Kent; see also Bligh (ed), 1986). An improved understanding of some of the effects on second language development would help to enable the teacher to handle group formation and the resulting interaction in a sensitive manner.

The final and a possibly crucial area of research which needs further study concerns the practice effect of specific exercises on language knowledge and language skills. This might be studied as the effect of the use of an exercise on for example: repeat performance of the same exercise; performance of an exercise of the same type; performance of a different type of oral fluency exercise; a related reading or writing task; performance on unrelated tasks in other modes; specific processing subskills, such as speed of accessing of lexical items, or speed or ability in completing an utterance cue. Overall, it is important to obtain information about how language proficiency develops through the specific use of these exercises. This would provide a wider methodological justification for using such activities in the classroom since it would relate their use to learning.

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Extending research in these various ways may not only contribute to a fuller and more reliable picture of the methodological possibilities for developing oral skills in the classroom, but it may also help to sensitize members of the language teaching profession to the large variety of kinds of impact that activities can have on language learning. Above all, the profession requires such documentary research if it is to maintain a cohesive and coherent stance in society at large. This theme is enlarged on in the final section.

12.5 Conclusion

The principal claim of this study then is that there are differences between oral exercises and that these are manifested in the language used. A related claim has been made that by providing the teacher with an improved understanding of the effects of any given exercise, studies such as the present one can make a particular contribution to methodological practice. Research of this kind can help the teacher knowingly to manipulate this crucial aspect of the learning environment, and to increase the degree of sophistication with which this can be done.

Such exercises are of course just one among a whole range of variables which can affect the learner, and we have been concentrating on just one from among a variety of possible kinds of exercise. It is not the contention here that oral skills are alone susceptible to such study: on the contrary, the present study is, if anything, inspired by similar earlier research into written exercises (eg. Carrell, 1984; Scott & McAlpin, 1979).

Nor is it being asserted that the teacher's choice of exercise is the sole determinant of learning, although it is probably one of the principal ways - perhaps the principal way - in which the teacher can influence the learner. Through exercises the teacher is not merely indicating to the student what to learn. He is also suggesting how to learn, by engaging the learner in a short term goal, which the teacher judges can help the learner attain his own long term goal. This study

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has simply examined what learners in fact do in a limited number of such exercises.

Nor, finally, are we suggesting that the results reported in the earlier chapters are unique or inevitable outcomes of the use of such exercises. Our study shows variation in student response. Further studies may show wider variations. Any pattern found is thus in a sense only hypothetical. It might then be worth concluding by discussing the status of such data in the context of language teaching methodology.

Teachers need theories. As we argued earlier (section 5.2), in order to be effective, any teacher contemplating any class of learners must make some assumptions about how they are likely to learn, and how they are likely to respond to a variety of initiatives on the part of the teacher. Otherwise, the teacher is going to find it difficult to function. Hargie and Marshall comment:

Information that is stored can be recovered or retrieved to facilitate the process of decision-making and problem-solving. Existing circumstances will be compared with previous knowledge and experience. There is evidence to suggest that conceptual 'schemas' are used to facilitate the process of decision-making [...] For example, an experienced teacher will have a number of schemas, such as 'class getting bored' and 'noise level too high', each with accompanying action plans - 'introduce a new activity', 'call for order'. These schemas are used both to evaluate situations and to enable appropriate responses to be made. Experienced teachers will have built up a greater store of such schemas, and so will be able to cope more successfully than novices.

(Hargie & Marshall, 1986: 32)

Implied here is the view that the ability of any teacher successfully to impinge on the behaviour of learners is a function of his knowledge of a variety of typical kinds of behaviour, and of the effects of teacher intervention. It has been argued, (eg Allwright, 1986) that it is impossible to know the effects of teacher intervention. This may depend on what is meant by the term 'knowledge'. A Popperian view would suggest that some form of such knowledge is necessary (indeed inevitable), but that it will always only be partial and provisional. In any case, studies offering methodological suggestions, such as the

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majority of the contributions in Bligh (1986) on the use of group techniques, as well as the vast majority of materials and contributions to professional journals, not only add to this sort of knowledge, but are also based on it. Professional communication presupposes it, even though, as Brumfit has argued (1984), such schematic knowledge ultimately may have to be justified in the individual teacher's personal experiences, and perhaps ultimately in his own most subjective value system.

Personal experience will not however be enough either for the individual teacher, or for the teaching profession. For the individual teacher, there are parts of the teaching-learning process which may for various reasons be beyond the teacher's first hand experience. In addition, just as a discrepancy has been reported between teachers' espoused theories and their 'theories-in-use' (Argyris, Putnam & Smith, 1985: 81ff), so the teacher's perceptions may in certain crucial ways distort the true nature of learning patterns. This may be because the patterns are not clearly visible on a reduced number of samples, or it may be due to various prejudices on the part of the teacher. Thus his own view of experience can legitimately be enriched, complemented, corrected or justified by an analysis of learner data.

On the professional level, it can be argued that a profession needs to have a body of documented evidence to which it can refer, otherwise each generation of teachers will find itself having to reinvent its practice on the basis of assertions handed down through the centuries. As Richards (1984) argues, an understanding of what students might do, and why, in a number of specific learning situations is potentially important in so far as it provides the profession with some basis for accountability between its members, and to other interested parties (cf also Murphy, 1985). Without any body of data upon which to base them, professional opinions may be courteously refuted by non-specialists with strong political or economic views.

The schemata referred to in the quotation from Hargie and Marshall are by definition 'general knowledge structure(s)' (Mayer, 1983:209, my

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emphasis), and they thus require, for their verification and refinement, encounters with specific instances. We would argue that, like a teacher, a theorist who fails to be interested in what learners in fact do on specific occasions is open to the accusation of professional irresponsibility (for a fuller discussion of this view see Bygate, 1986, and Richards, 1984). Methodology and theories of language learning cannot immunise themselves from consideration of what learners do, any more than an understanding of what learners do is possible without reference to theory. The 'natural history' approach (cf. Fletcher, 1982; Sanford, 1985) to gathering data of classroom language learning has a significant role to play in the development of language teaching methodology.

Finally, if successive generations of language teachers are indeed to reinterpret the nature of language learning and reinvent their roles, then a well documented past is likely to provide the most stable and discriminating basis for further inventions and improvisations. The enterprise of language education involves the re-creation of the individual through his own imagination. Studies such as the one reported in these pages provide one element for consideration in such development.

The view adopted in the present research, then, is that by documenting the language produced by learners working in group activities it is possible to improve our knowledge and our understanding of the implications of using the materials concerned. It is to be hoped that this study provides at least a contribution to that general objective.

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APPENDIX A: THE FIVE EXERCISES

Exercise 1: Find the Difference

Instructions

DO NOT OPEN THIS FOLDER UNTIL YOU HAVE READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS

- 1 In this folder you will find two envelopes. Take one each.
- 2 There is a picture in each envelope. Take your picture out of the envelope. DO NOT SHOW IT TO THE OTHER PLAYER.
- 3 Your picture is similar to that of the other player - but there are some differences. Talk to one another until you find three differences.
- 4 When you have found three differences, show your pictures to one another and compare them. Try to find more differences.

The Pictures



Exercise 2: Guess my Nationality

Instructions

- 1 This game is for two or more players
- 2 One player takes a card from the pack, but does not show it to the other players.
- 3 The others try to guess what country this card represents by asking questions about it.
- 4 When they have successfully guessed, another player takes a card and the others try to guess the country.
- 5 Continue until every player has had two turns of taking a card.

Cards

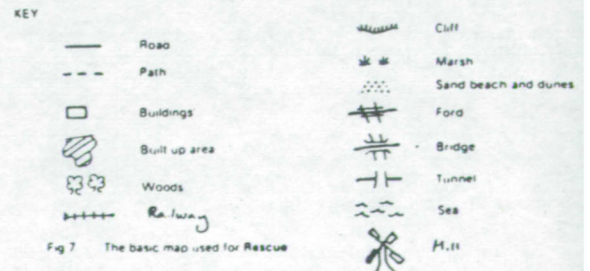
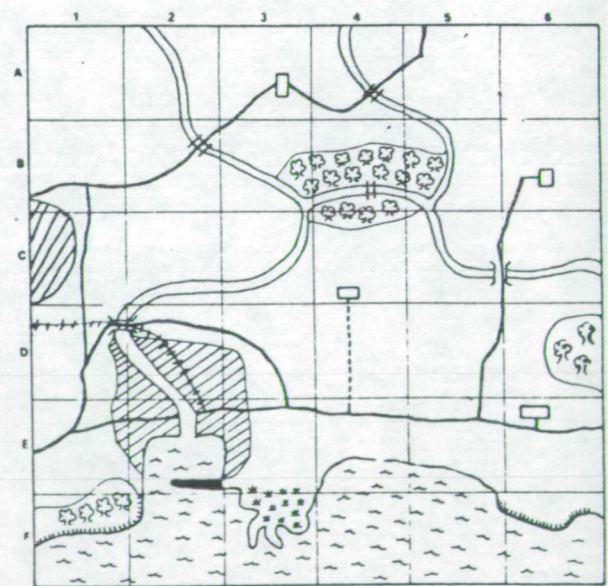
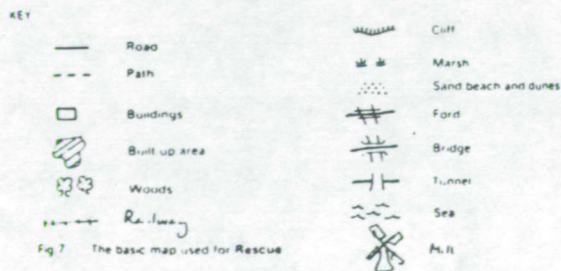
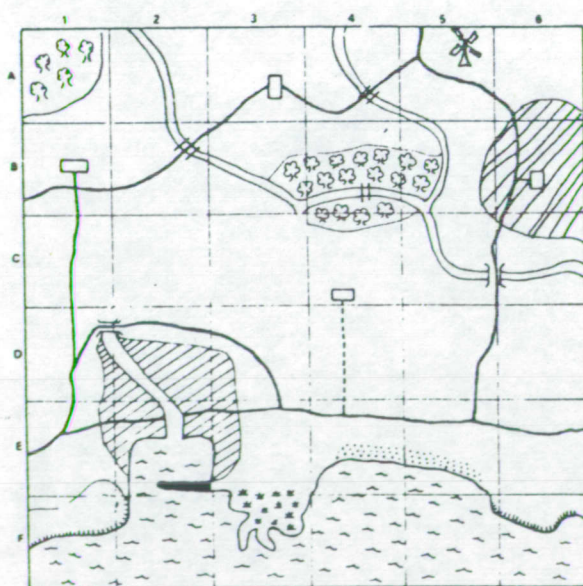
CUBA	GERMANY
FRANCE	MEXICO
PORTUGAL	JAPAN
BOLIVIA	BRAZIL
PERU	EGYPT
ITALY	SWITZERLAND
COLUMBIA	CHILE
INDIA	UNITED STATES
SPAIN	ECUADOR
BRITAIN	RUSSIA

Exercise 3: Complete the Map

Instructions

- 1 Make sure your partner has the other folder. If there are more than two in your group, split into two teams, one team with this folder, and one with the other.
- 2 In this folder, you will find some copies of a map. Take one. Do not let the other team look at it.
- 3 Both maps are of the same piece of countryside. However, each map is incomplete. Your colleagues have the information you need on the other map. Exchange information to complete the two maps.
- 4 At the end, take your completed map away with you.

The Maps



Exercise 4: Ask the Right Question

Instructions

DO NOT OPEN THIS ENVELOPE UNTIL YOU HAVE READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS

- 1 In this envelope you will find 20 cards. On each card a word or phrase has been written. Take the cards out of the envelope and place them face downwards on the table. DO NOT LOOK AT THE WORDS ON THE CARDS.
- 2 One of you must now pick up a card. Do not show it to the other player.
- 3 Read what is written on the card. Then ask the other player a question to which the word or phrase on your card is the answer.
- 4 If he does not give you the right answer, ask your question again, using different words.
- 5 If he gives you the right answer, keep the card. If you do not get the right answer, put the card back at the bottom of the pack on the table.
- 6 The other player must now pick up a card and continue the game in the same way.

The Cards

SIGN LANGUAGE	A WELL
HONEY	THE RED INDIANS
RUBBER	NEWS
51 STATES	RED
JUMP	S.O.S.
TO YAWN	THE LION
LOVE	SHAKESPEARE
A BUNGALOW	GREEK
COOK	A SUBMARINE
IT SWIMS	TO SKATE

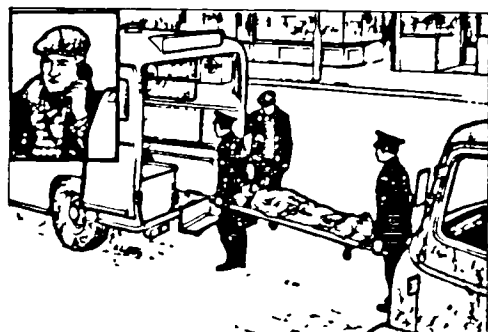
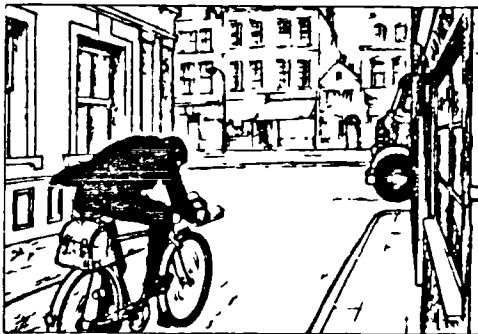
Exercise 5: Complete It

Instructions

DO NOT OPEN THIS ENVELOPE UNTIL YOU HAVE READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS

- 1 In this envelope you will find 4 smaller envelopes. Take one envelope each.
- 2 Open your envelope and take out your picture. DO NOT SHOW YOUR PICTURE TO THE OTHER PLAYERS.
- 3 Your picture shows part of a sequence of events. Talk to one another until you have worked out what happened.
- 4 When you have worked out what happened, show your pictures to one another.

The Pictures



APPENDIX B1

SAMPLE RECORD CARD

Finite sentences

unconjoined separates

unconjoined contacts

interrogatives

imperatives

WH-inversion

WH- Ø inversion

Y/N inversion

conjoined separates

coordinated subordinated

conjunct-linked

conjoined contacts

coordinated subordinated

conjunct-linked

subject omission

left-shifting

sentential marker

Phrases

NP

PP

VG

Other

conjoined

question

phrasal markers

mhm

y/n

Repetition

repetition

reduction

expansion

substitution

framing/completion

APPENDIX B2: STATISTICAL DATA

1) Incidence of principal units of analysis

EXERCISE 1

Group	A	B	C	D	E	F	J
MLU	13.4	10.4	5.4	9.9	7.0	7.2	26.6
Dist rng	23.0	0	19.0	17.0	26.0	20.0	45.0
Lgth rng	8.2	9.3	1.5	6.1	2.1	47.0	63.2
Clauses	75	52	54	69	63	81	81
Contacts	75	80	55	66	63	88	82
Interrogs	6	12	9	3	10	0	3
Repetition	44	34	25	37	24	19	34
Conj. cls	79	24	18	53	32	36	26
Conj. conts	62	95	50	79	64	100	100
1 phrase	27	33	34	28	28	20	33
1 clause	32	19	24	27	27	0	22
1+ phrase	3	9	2	3	5	0	11
1+ clause	19	9	10	13	9	20	33
phr + cl	8	13	21	11	12	0	0
phrs + cls	11	17	14	18	20	60	0
phr turns	30	42	36	31	33	20	44
1 move trns	59	52	58	56	56	20	55
cl turns	51	28	34	40	36	20	55
multi trns	41	48	47	45	46	80	44

EXERCISE 2

Groups	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	I	J
MLU	6.4	5.8	5.0	4.3	5.3	3.2	6.4	4.9	4.2
Dist rng	10	4	13	15	10	17	14	13	16
Lgth rng	3.0	6.0	3.2	3.9	4.3	1.5	1.8	1.8	2.5
Clauses	53	43	47	40	45	38	67	48	44
Contacts	57	58	68	45	54	7	37	58	45
Interrogs	17	22	25	27	15	86	32	21	48
Repetition	22	35	27	18	39	10	18	32	22
Conj. cls	39	3	40	20	10	4	19	14	9
Conj. conts	71	100	100	63	60	100	56	69	83
1 phrase	43	37	37	50	37	47	19	42	37
1 clause	23	20	8	22	18	41	44	20	27
1+ phrase	6	16	11	5	11	2	1	8	10
1+ clause	11	5	17	5	13	2	10	8	8
phr + cl	10	6	8	12	9	8	17	17	10
phrs + cls	7	15	8	6	11	2	9	6	8
phr turns	49	53	58	55	48	49	20	50	47
1 move trns	46	57	56	72	56	88	63	62	64
cl turns	34	25	25	27	31	43	54	28	35
multi trns	34	42	44	28	44	14	37	39	36

EXERCISE 3

Groups	A	B	D	E	F	G	J
MLU	18.9	5.7	5.4	3.5	5.0	11.2	4.2
Dist rnge	44	2	17	24	49	16	37
Lgth rnge	43	3.7	4.0	3.7	8.8	8.8	3.6
Clauses	60	32	43	52	42	61	32
Contacts	94	39	53	53	63	55	49
Interrogs	3	27	14	5	3	5	12
Repetition	51	30	24	55	21	46	15
Conj. cls	58	0	38	27	45	31	19
Conj. conts	95	0	61	61	62	66	55
1 phrase	41	58	46	40	39	29	48
1 clause	0	12	22	23	26	25	21
1+ phrase	8	12	11	7	11	3	14
1+ clause	8	0	5	7	5	10	3
phr + cl	0	9	9	12	4	18	8
phrs + cls	41	9	7	11	15	16	5
phr turns	49	70	57	47	50	32	62
1 move trns	41	70	68	63	65	54	69
cl turns	8	12	27	30	31	35	24
multi trns	57	30	32	37	35	47	30

EXERCISE 4

Groups	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	J
MLU	7.0	6.0	5.0	6.1	5.9	4.3	4.5	4.6
Dist rnge	9	2	15	11	18	17	15	8
Lgth rnge	4.4	6.5	1.7	2.2	3.7	0.5	4.7	1.4
Clauses	49	36	46	46	47	36	39	50
Contacts	76	67	41	74	38	48	61	44
Interrogs	12	17	32	13	20	57	10	41
Repetition	18	35	22	15	22	66	33	30
Conj. cls	43	31	14	35	30	26	29	26
Conj. conts	86	95	100	93	85	100	92	94
1 phrase	34	47	38	41	43	50	48	51
1 clause	13	13	26	18	18	20	17	26
1+ phrase	9	15	10	15	10	12	15	5
1+ clause	11	8	10	3	6	5	0	9
phr + cl	17	8	9	5	10	3	9	3
phrs + cls	16	8	7	18	14	11	11	6
phr turns	43	62	48	56	53	62	63	56
1 move trns	47	60	64	59	61	70	65	77
cl turns	24	21	36	21	24	25	17	35
multi trns	53	39	36	41	40	31	35	23

EXERCISE 5

Groups	B	C	D	E	G	H	I	J
MLU	8.0	13.0	8.1	8.8	17.4	10.5	7.1	11.9
Dist rng	6	31	12	17	34	27	23	32
Lgth rng	8.6	13.8	4.3	8.1	13.8	4.7	2.4	3.6
Clauses	54	73	52	68	94	81	63	76
Contacts	55	67	74	66	84	72	65	79
Interrogs	20	8	2	5	0	3	2	8
Repetition	31	9	22	23	21	7	21	10
Conj. cls	30	50	41	72	57	63	63	46
Conj. conts	88	67	71	76	92	79	94	89
1 phrase	27	19	26	37	6	28	35	17
1 clause	25	37	18	12	18	23	32	34
1+ phrase	10	6	14	4	0	0	6	13
1+ clause	10	19	5	23	56	17	10	4
phr + cl	10	6	11	7	6	14	3	9
phrs + cls	18	12	26	18	12	18	13	22
phr turns	37	25	31	41	6	28	41	40
1 move trns	52	56	44	49	24	51	67	51
cl turns	35	56	33	35	74	40	42	38
multi trns	48	43	56	52	74	49	32	48

NOTES:

Dist rng: range between scores of speaker with highest and the speaker with the lowest numbers of turns

Lgth rng: range between highest and lowest MLU's of members of each group

Clauses Expressed as a percentage of number of clauses + phrases

Contacts Contact clauses expressed as a percentage of all clauses

Interrogs Finite interrogatives, as a percentage of all clauses

Repetition As a percentage of total of phrases and clauses

Conj. cls As a percentage of all clauses

Conj. conts As a percentage of all contacts

1 phrase

1 clause, etc Expressed as a percentage of all turns

**11) Incidence of syntagmatic transforms
for 5 sample groups
(expressed as a proportion of all syntactic units)**

Table 1: Repetition/reduction

Ex 1:	A: 4; B:11; C: 8; D: 9; E: 7	m= 7.8; s= 2.6
Ex 2:	A:11; B:16; C: 9; D:13; E:22	m= 14.3; s= 5.1
Ex 3:	A:16; B:27; - D: 8; E:16	m= 16.8; s= 7.8
Ex 4:	A: 7; B:15; C:14; D: 3; E:11	m= 10.0; s= 5
Ex 5:	- B: 4; C: 3; D: 3; E: 0	m= 2.2; s= 1.7

Table 2: Expansion

Ex 1:	A: 6; B:17; C: 4; D: 3; E:11	m= 8.2; s= 5.8
Ex 2:	A: 3; B: 1; C: 5; D: 3; E:12	m= 4.8; s= 4.3
Ex 3:	A:11; B: 4; - D: 8; E: 8	m= 7.8; s= 2.9
Ex 4:	A: 7; B: 7; C: 6; D: 6; E: 5	m= 6.2; s= 0.8
Ex 5:	- B: 9; C: 6; D: 8; E:10	m= 8.3; s= 1.7

Table 3: Substitution

Ex 1:	A: 9; B: 2; C: 2; D: 4; E: 3	m= 4.0; s= 2.9
Ex 2:	A: 1; B: 1; C: 1; D: 1; E: 0	m= 0.8; s= 0.4
Ex 3:	A: 7; B: 5; - D: 4; E: 3	m= 4.8; s= 1.7
Ex 4:	A: 1; B: 1; C: 1; D: 1; E: 1	m= 1.0; s= 0
Ex 5:	- B: 8; C: 0; D: 0; E: 1	m= 2.0; s= 3.9

Table 4: Completion

Ex 1:	A: 4; B: 2; C: 3; D: 4; E: 0	m= 2.6; s= 1.7
Ex 2:	A: 1; B: 0; C: 0; D: 1; E: 1	m= 0.6; s= 0.5
Ex 3:	A: 2; B: 0; - D: 4; E: 2	m= 2.0; s= 1.6
Ex 4:	A: 1; B: 0; C: 0; D: 1; E: 1	m= 0.6; s= 0.5
Ex 5:	- B: 2; C: 0; D: 6; E: 1	m= 2.3; s= 2.6

Table 5: All manipulations

Ex 1:	A:23; B:32; C:17; D:20; E:21	m= 22.6; s= 5.7
Ex 2:	A:16; B:18; C:15; D:18; E:35	m= 20.4; s= 8.3
Ex 3:	A:36; B:36; - D:24; E:29	m= 31.3; s= 5.9
Ex 4:	A:16; B:23; C:21; D:11; E:18	m= 17.8; s= 4.7
Ex 5:	- B:23; C: 9; D:17; E:12	m= 15.3; s= 6.1

Appendix C - Transcription of Recordings

Transcription conventions:

/-/ : 1 sec pause; /./ : 0.5 sec pause; /, / : less than 0.5 sec pause;
/ ? / : unintelligible; [SX:] : a speaker interjects in another speaker's pause, or overlaps; / → / indicates lengthening of a phoneme; names are replaced

Exercise 1

Group A

- Speaker 1: OK - in this picture in picture - er , number one I can see
er a little girl - who probably - is inside - her house - er
who is playing - with a bear - this - it has a brown colour
- and - the little girl is sitting - in the - in the stairs
5 of her house - - - this house is very nice - it has rugs -
it has . brown rugs - - mm - - it has - - - - waste basket
- it has a basket - who probably serves buy er for buying
some things in the market - what can you tell me about the
other - picture - - R.
- 10 S2 : oh yes in this picture I can see a man erm -they'd only 's
OK yeah there is a man running away of the room - OK er -
in the room there is also a window the window is open I can
see through - through it - a man probably - drinking a cup
of coffee or a cup of tea something like that - and then I
15 can see . out of the room - a little child that it's by the
window - and then there are two pictures - er - - close to
the window - and there is also a woman - that it is a stand
- and is looking at the man . that is running away - out of
the room - that's all
- 20 S1 : what about you G.
S3 : well I see on my picture a / ? / of a young girl sitting on
a table - eh - she's calling on the telephone and - - there
are - there are - a - picture flowers I think she's / /
and the other picture I see - - erm - a room where the man
25 is running out - and - - - and through the window I can see
a man who is drinking coffee or tea - I er children - - no
no I change - a child who is er looking at the . door - and
there are - eh two pictures on the wall - with figures - and
- - - and on the floor next to it pictures that have a black
30 erm umbrella and there is a man a woman - an old woman - eh
who is eh looking at the - - er - the man - who is running
away - - mm that's all
- S1 : er - in this picture I also see that this little girl - this
nice little girl is wearing - a - - beige dress - and it has
35 . she has long hair and the stairs are white colour and
there is also a mirror who is - er which is used . to - to -
er - - to keep - some brushes - - that . probably they are

- using them for - for - - - for - - - - keeping their clothes
 . without dust - - erm the stairs are also with rugs - with
 40 brown rugs - and there is also a telephone - t'colour of
 this telephone is black but the the lit this little girl is
 not using the telephone - [S3: mm] in one of the your picture
 some of the girls no one girl was using a telephone
- S3 : one is
- 45 talking on the telephone
- S1 : mm - so it could be a difference - - erm - another
 difference I think is that in another mm in your other
 picture - mm - this mm situation is taking place not . in a
 house but - in a - - public - em - in a public - er - em
- 50 S3 : it's it's a [S1: em] maybe it's a hall and / ? / stairs
 S1 : in a public hall
 S3 : aha
 S2 : OK and in this picture I can also see - a clock that it's up
 the door and it's twelve o'clock
- 55 S3 : OK
 S2 : and then there's an old woman that it's looking at the man
 who is running away and the woman has a purse in his left
 arm then I can see through the door open a woman that it's
 sat on the - on a chair - - I can see that there is a woman
 60 because - her . her hair is long
- S3 : mm well I think perhaps / ? / we can say those two pictures
 first - in C's picture there is a difference about the a -
 about the dress of the - of the
 girl because - er - - she - - excuse me
- 65 S1 : yes [I think] that it would be I think that if
 we start comparing , no our pictures because we have already
 established the differences
 S2 : no we have to find the differences before
 S1 : we have already found
- 70 S3 : the differences
 S1 : do you finally think so
 S2 : yes
 S1 : do you find you got it right
 S3 : well well the picture is that - eh - er - it isn't eh he
 75 isn't eh a man who is sitting on a chair - it's a - a woman
- S2 : a woman we just have a woman sitting on a chair
 S3 : [ah yes and he is a man]
 S1 : that is difference number one
 S2 : and also the man who is drinking a cup of tea I think - er
- 80 he has a black cup
- S3 : ah no he's a white cup mm
 S1 : so difference number two
 S3 : what about the - w - w - - time
 S2 : what about the time in the picture
- 85 S3 : the time is ten o'clock
 S2 : ten o'clock
 S3 : aha
 S2 : in my picture I have twelve at sharp
 S1 : but in my picture that you also have er I see here a
 90 telephone - and but this little girl is not using the
 telephone and in your case in your picture

S3 : she's talking
 S1 : a girl is using is talking
 S3 : she's talking on the telephone
 95 S1 : by telephone yes
 S3 : and there / ? ? ? / on the table where - is sitting
 and there is erm a white rug under the table
 S1 : mhm
 and my rug 'n yes the - my picture's rug is brown [S3: aha]
 100 brown with some
 S3 : and on the stairs ah lit there is a little - erm - - little
 bear and a toy
 S1 : a little toy
 S3 : aha
 105 S1 : bear is it a bear because [S3: na] I have in my picture also
 a bear and this bear it has a brown colour [S3:mhm] and er
 the little girl's playing with the bear
 S3 : ah no she isn't playing she's talking on the telephone
 S1 : [no] [and]
 110 where's she sitting
 S3 : on the table - [with the]
 S1 : she's sitting on the table
 S3 : aha
 S1 : my little girl is sitting - in the stairs -
 115 on the stairs
 S2 : on the stairs on the stairs
 S3 : on the stairs there 're more I think there are
 more than three differences
 S1 : yes [S3:mm] more than three differences
 120 S2 : [yes]
 S3 : and the point is that we can start
 S2 : compare
 S3 : yes
 S2 : that's right
 125 S1 : so why don't we compare

Group B

S4: OK I I have a picture that - that a+ - a+ girl is is talking -
 by telephone - what yours what do you what else do you have
 S5: I have a picture with a gir a little girl is sitting - - mm
 S4: down
 5 S5: down she is sitting down
 S4: [in in] a downstairs
 S5: downstairs she is she is playing with a+ beer - -
 S4: bear
 S5: bear -
 10 S4: bear OK I have a+ erm er some stairs eh er a house and a picture
 on the wall in front of me of course - I have a picture in front
 of me - but I can't see a+ll the picture all the picture but only
 a half
 S5: mm

- 15 S4: I have a picture - th' the→ the girl is . is sitting on a small table - and near to her there is a→ vase with flowers and lamp what do you have
S5: mm on the wall there are pictures - a clock
S4: a clock
- 20 S5: a clock
S4: I don't have a clock - - - I have a - ah - there is a rug on the floor white rug - - white rug er what colour do you have a rug
S5: is er red
S4: red rug
- 25 S5: red and brown
S4: OK I think there are three - more than three differences there is a basket / ? / OK ah you have - two you have a cucucluck
S5: [OK] [/ ? /]
S4: cuckoo clock mm cuckoo clock and a plate on the a plate on the -
- 30 on the wall - you have a plant and I have a vase of flowers - the car the carpets are brown and the carpet here is - in is white yes there is a plant and the stairs are the same colour I think uh
S5: yes
- 35 S4: OK
S5: in this are the→ basket
S4: basket a big basket em er OK there isn't a basket here - -
S5: [yes]
S4: that's right OK take it away please and another one take out
- 40 another one another picture - - OK - - it's em in in this in this picture - - this south croydon / ? / OK it's like em - - eh - there are one two three four five six er there there are - four - four peoples - there is an old lady - there is an old lady I think that it's a - an estation→ bus station I think
- 45 S5: [for bus]
S4: - perhaps it's a - a bus station
S5: mm
S4: there is a boy what do you have -
S5: erm - I think it's a bus station - too - there are six people
- 50 S4: there are six people mhm
S5: aha
S4: I have er five
S5: boy
S4: a boy
- 55 S5: and a old lady - - and er passengers who is hurrying
S4: [a pa , al OK yes I
ha I have a man that is leaving out - ll w . running - running running quickly
S5: [run run] mhm
- 60 S4: with a handbag in her in her in his left - in his left hand - and another people I can see through the windoow that he's eh
S5: [yes]
S4: drinking a cup of coffee - and I can see another erm behi eh under the under the→ . window - a a sad - boy I think
- 65 S5: sad boy yes yes
S4: yes you have a sad boy
S5: yes I have a sad boy
S4: and the old la - what is what is the old lady doing

S5: - - mm -
 70 S4: do you have a nold lady
 S5: yes - she is erm - watch she is
 S4: she is looking
 S5: looking at
 S4: through . through the window - -
 75 S5: through yes
 S4: she is looking through the window
 S5: [through] the window
 S4: she is looking through the window
 S5: she is looking through the window the man w h o is running -
 80 S4: [at the man]
 S5: quickly
 S4: OK he is running OK - you have a clock do you have a clock
 S5: yes - I have a clock it's on the wall a - at the in the
 S4: [where is the clock]
 85 it's over it's ov
 S5: [over -] over the door
 S4: it's over the door OK what time is it
 S5: it's twelve . o'clock
 S4: it's twelve o'clock I have - ten o'clock
 90 S5: twelve o'clock
 S4: ten a ver ay que cl twelve o'clock
 S5: I have ten o'clock the man is is leaving out qu quickly running
 quickly eh the the
 S4: OK the the boy has a - a striped striped striped
 95 S5: sweater
 S4: sweater and - - the other . the other boy has a - white (laughs)
 - sweater (laughs) thanks and the and the - man - has a - a
 brown - cup and this man has a - er light - a light cup / ?
 / wayt out toilet and nothing else

End of transcript

Group C

S1: an old woman is waiting for someone - in the street - no .
 that's OK
 S2: yes OK
 S1: ya - - erm - a boy a boy is erm - - - is / ? / is erm - is at
 5 the wall - - - near to the - to the - - next to the cafeteria
 S2: right
 S3: yeah - eh in the cafeteria is a man drinking coffee
 S2: right
 S3: ya mhm - - mm mm
 10 S1: er a man is getting . out of the cafeteria er with a bags
 S2: right
 S1: mhm - merm I see here there's a woman who is in the cafeteria
 S2: I don't have it
 S1: no - oh well - - there are some er advertisments of picture
 15 behind the woman
 S2: right - what do they say

- S1: myeah one says no no motorail and the other interci
 S2: above that
 S1: myeah you have way way out toilet and buffet
 20 S2: y how'bout the→ - clock , on the wall - what time is it
 S1: the time it's at twelve o'clock
 S3: mhm
 S2: I got ten o'clock
 S1: you have ten / ? /
 25 S2: then we have two differences
 S3: two differences
 S2: yes
 S3: erm how
 S2: [how] about the→ bag - - on the floor
 30 S3: on the floor after - outside of the front of the restaurant which
 erm - the bag
 S2: mm
 S3: erm we
 S1: [it's] not an an a street it's er - - inside er→ I suppose it's
 35 a→
 S2: 's 'n the floor beside the old woman
 S1: [y y e s→] but it's a walk right
 S3: mm
 S1: it's not a street - - mm it's a train
 40 S2: [how - about] in th' railway
 S1: bus station the umbrella the umbrella is er - is er
 S2: 's lying on the bag
 S1: 's lying on the bag
 S2: mm
 45 S1: that's all we have
 S2: what's the advertisement do you have on the - on the wall - the
 main advertisement - what does it say
 S1: [erm→ → → →] we have
 S3: [we have] the word
 50 er south croy croydon
 S1: [aha south]
 S2: mm we / ? / like two differences
 S3: yes
 S2: but we have to look for the
 55 S3: for the last one
 S2: missing one the last one - how could we / ? /
 S1: erm we don't have - er maybe on the window - er
 S2: you don't have the word buffet
 S1: ah yeah I don't have that word
 60 S2: then we have the three main missing words
 S1: mm→
 S2: how about we change the picture
 S1: [yeah] that's the differences yeah 'n
 the other picture - there is a→ little girl maybe playing with a→
 65 -
 S3: bear
 S1: big toy -
 S3: then we have next to the stairs a basket - -
 S2: mm I got a bear here - a bear . and the→ rich girl doesn't have
 70 shoes - his shoes off

- S1: ah here they are they have shoes - / ? /
 S3: [she has]
 S2: two differences - how about the rug - on the floor - do you have it
 75 S1: no we have a carpet
 S3: [no]
 S2: carpet - I mean carpet / ? /
 S1: it's orange no - it's er standing you have a→ what colour do you have
 80 S2: mm mm→ grey - colour
 S1: yes we have brown / ? / yes
 S3: [grey]
 S2: [brown colour] 'n how about flowers . do you have flowers
 85 S1: flowers
 S2: mhm
 S1: er no we don't have flowers we have er a kind of plant
 S3: [no no]
 S2: how about the green plant - mer - -
 90 S1: next to the→
 S2: to the
 S1: the stairs
 S2: mhm
 S1: no we don't have
 95 S3: only m only there is a basket
 S1: yes we only have a basket there
 S2: [how bout the lamp] how about the lamp
 S1: we don't have a lamp
 S3: no we don't
 100 S2: [how about] the picture
 S1: we we have instead a picture
 S2: [the picture] on the wall
 S3: [on the wall]
 S1: we have a clock
 105 S2: oh no I got here a picture hanging on the wall
 S1: and near there is a picture
 S3: mm
 S2: mm
 S3: but it's a round picture do you have that
 110 S2: no - I got there er are more differences in the picture than in the other
 S3: mm
 S1: yes - and then we have a→ - table
 S2: I don't got table here
 115 S1: with three divises
 S3: divisions
 S1: divisions
 S3: the table have - er three divisions - in the - top - there is a→ - flowerpot . the second is a→ little picture made of
 120 S1: picture
 S3: I think that's too small
 S2: how about the magazine . do you have the magazine
 S1: [mhm]
 S3: magazines - we don't have any magazines

- 125 S2: I got the magazine - on the+ - table
 S1: [no]
 S3: there's no magazine here
 S2: mm
 S3: and we have a+ - - - - how you say
 130 S1: I don't know
 S2: mm / ? /
 S1: it's a / ? /
 S2: mm
 S1: near the other basket no
 135 S3: [the other]
 S2: I think that's all
 S3: yes

End of Recording

Group D

- S1: there are four pictures but I suppose that we just take one each
 S2: one each
 S1: one each
 S2: one each OK
 5 S3: I have a picture of a girl speaking by the telephone - she is listening to+ another person that is talking to her in the telephone - she is sitting down and she's near er+ the stairs - there's a little doll on the stairs and there are flowers on the table where the girl is sitting
 10 S4: I have a picture with a girl with a s which is sitting upstairs er holding a+ bear yel a bear er a puppy or bear and er - in front of her there is er+ - - some kind of - er - - erm - chair - and er - the - she is sitting . in the+ stairs
 S3: OK and now we can think thre . three differences
 15 S4: three differences
 S3: no
 S4: right
 S3: in mine she's sitting on a table
 S4: in mine she's sitting in the stairs
 20 S3: in mine there's a rug in front of her and in yours there's a
 S4: er some kind of er+ chair
 S3: in mine , you can see some flowers
 S4: right in mine - about - er on the wall , you can see a clock
 S3: OK so there are three differences
 25 S2: OK this - seems to be the hall of a strain of a train station
 S1: mm
 S2: it says south croydon at the top
 S1: mm
 S2: a sign and then I can see a+ buffet or a cafeteria there is a
 30 clock on - on the top - of the door that is open and a man is - getting away - through the door - he's running - then I can see next to the door a+ a window on the right through the window I can see a man - drinking - coffee or tea because he has a . cup . in his hand . there's a little boy - outside - on the hall erm

- 35 below the window then at the right hand so I'm just going from left to right
- S1: mhm
- S2: then there's an old lady who's wearing a hat - carrying a handbag - wearing a coat a long coat - she is making / ? /
- 40 the signs that says way out toilets buffet there are two er how you say two posters
- S1: aha
- S2: and also there is below the posters - on the - on the floor next to the wall there is a - suitcase and a umbrella and an umbrella
- 45 S1: OK
- S2: it's twelve o'clock on the top - on the top of the door
- S1: OK so mine is very similar - but on top of the er door there is a clock also but it is not twelve o'clock right - it's just ten o'clock ten yes - one difference - then - behind the man who is
- 50 rushing out from the buffet there is another man - sitting - at a table d'you have that one
- S2: I have a woman - because it's it's got long hair unless it's a man and he's got long a little long hair
- S3: stupid
- 55 S2: yes
- S1: this is a man because I mean he has the short hair short hair he seems to be wearing a suit or something the second the second difference now - to the left - of the man who is rushing out from the buffet there's - part of a poster
- 60 S2: mm
- S1: right so you have that one
- S2: I already know that though I can see a man drinking some
- S1: no that's to the right - to the left
- S2: [oh right] I have part of a
- 65 poster
- S1: you have part of a poster
- S2: yes
- S1: mm - well - so we have two differences and the third one perhaps will be - in front of the boy the little boy who is
- 70 outside
- S2: mhm
- S1: below the window there is a piece of paper on the floor
- S2: there isn't here
- S1: aha so I have one a piece of paper on the floor
- 75 S2: mhm
- S1: a sheet of paper in fact so I think that's it
- S2: is the man going out in a rush carrying a suit
- S1: [aha] yes he's carrying a bag
- 80 S3: [a bag]
- S2: [a bag] yes it's not a suitcase or anything
- S1: [it's a bag]
- S2: it's a bag
- S1: just a bag yes - he's wearing a suit
- 85 S3: yes
- S1: with a collar and tie flying
- S2: the boy is wearing a striped
- S1: no the boy is wearing a plain shirt

- S2: oh no this shirt is striped n the boy is wearing a striped shirt
 90 S1: [no]
 no this little boy is wearing short pants
 S2: mhm
 S1: and a plain
 S2: shirt
 95 S1: it's not er it seems to be a sweater
 S2: well yes because it's long sweater and er
 S1: [long] sleeves er yes song
 socks and white shoes more or less
 S2: yes
 100 S1: so you have three differences the first one is a man you have a
 man and behind her you have a woman behind the man
 S2: a woman
 S1: who is rushing and I have a man the second I have a sheet of
 paper on the floor and you don't have it - and the third would
 105 be that in my clock it is ten o'clock and in yours it's twelve
 S2: also the
 S1: and then the boy is wearing in your pictures he is wearing
 a striped sweater
 S2: [striped] OK
 110 S1: and in mine he is wearing a plain sweater
 S2: you can probably find more differences looking at your pictures
 S3: in the first two pictures there are some difference
 S4: the girl
 S3: in mine the girl is a teenager
 115 S4: in mine's just a the seven seven or eight y years years
 S3: [a seven seven or eight year olds] -
 then another difference is er the teddy bear -
 on mine is just on the steps by - - alone -
 and in yours the teddy bear is carried by the
 120 S4: [in mine sh a yeah] she's she's
 holding the - toddy bear
 S3: OK then - on the table I have flowers and you have a plant
 S4: right
 S3: on yours you have a clock and I have a
 125 S4: [and erm erm] a picture
 S3: a picture - then you have two rugs while I have one rug
 S4: [I have two rugs and you have one] right
 S3: then the colour of the wall is er orange
 S4: in mine it's green
 130 S3: 's green
 S4: and you have . er . I have a little
 S3: you have a basket for
 S4: basket for
 S3: [for] umbrellas
 135 S4: for umbrellas and you have a
 S3: and I have erm - a plant
 S4: a plant
 S3: a a little table with a plant and then my rug is white
 and your rug is a Persian
 140 S4: [and er] right it's a Persian yeah

- S3: yes and I have a lamp on the table which you don't have and I have papers and I have a telephone and the difference the first difference is the teenager girl - is - talking by the telephone
- S4: ca/ ? /
- 145 right
- S3: she's - speaking over the telephone
- S4: and I've already explained that
- S3: aha and the girl is without shoes and your little girls is with shoes and with socks . and my girl is with . pants - and your
- 150 girl is with a dress
- S4: that's right
- S3: OK . that's - I think that's the→
- S4: that's the main differences
- S3: the main differences yes
- 155 S1: OK now we have more difference then eh
- S2: mhm
- S1: in C.'s picture mm one of the posters - there's a man only
- S2: yes
- S1: while in mine there's a man with a boy
- 160 S2: mhm
- S1: and in my picture the lady is missing one button
- S2: mhm
- S1: and in yours
- S2: has all the buttons
- 165 S1: she has all the buttons and in my picture the bag doesn't have any label . at all . mine has a label in the→ . er - handle
- S2: [mhm] [handle]
- mhm
- S1: and your , in yours th' the label is on the suitcase itself
- 170 S2: [on] mhm
- S1: so those are all the differences
- S2: those are all
- S1: yes ah in mine the lady's wearing earrings she has earrings - while in yours - she doesn't have any . earrings so that's it
- 175 thankyou

End of recording

Group E

- S13: do I start
- S14: yes we have two pictures
- S13: [oh well] this picture and this picture , I think I have er / ? / in an airport or a place like that -
- 5 erm - there are - - - oh six people . seven , maybe . one is→ running out . the→ one of the rooms with a→ handbag . another one is - erm→ drinking . coffee I think
- S14: m right
- S13: probably
- 10 S14: yeah he he's taking a cup to his mouth

- S13: [and there is a lady] there is a lady I suppose passing by or observing . and a little boy and er what I suppose is - a kind of . window
- S14: yeah
- 15 S13: in the corridor a-and - ah no . th'r are six people but two of them are part of a - picture I think
- S14: mhm
- S13: on the wall
- S14: m
- 20 S13: so I have just - two three men a child and a lady an old lady
- S14: OK - erm - a at the back
- S13: mhm
- S14: I mean er , in the office I also see a - this is a young lady
- 25 S13: mhm
- S14: sitting in a chair
- S13: mhm
- S14: she might be a secretary
- S13: mhm
- 30 S14: OK , it seems to me oh th this er little boy seems to be punished
- S13: mm
- S14: don't you see
- S13: yes that's the same thing . I have
- 35 S14: he has er - . he has his . his hands - in the back
- S13: mm
- S14: and
- S13: looking down
- S14: [his] he his hair his head is down so it seems that
- 40 he is punished - . this man wh who might be this man
- S13: the one in the window or the one
- S14: the the- man er the man leaving the er leaving the office in a hurry
- S13: well that man I think he is a robber - a thief
- 45 S14: he might be
- S13: because he is running with a handbag
- S14: yeah - but that may be er a customer , who is in a hurry he is about to - he is about to lose his er - - his airplane
- S13: well it might be - because his his er . gesture
- 50 S14: aha
- S13: his face is is - something special
- S14: yes
- S13: you feel he is in a stress
- S14: mhm - that's right
- 55 S13: so the difference a the then - . from the same door when the man is , er where the man is , running out
- S14: mm
- S13: I see there is er - someone - -
- S14: at the same door
- 60 S13: in the same door - maybe - another - man - it must be a man - it cannot be a woman
- S14: a at the door
- S13: yes in the same door I think
- S14: [besides] the man who is leaving

65 S13: behind him
 S14: behi behind him is is a young lady
 S13: aha so that is the difference we have . one of the differences
 S14: ah I see

70 S13: [you] have the man - drinking coffee
 S14: yes . I do
 S13: yes . and the lady
 S14: just . the old lady
 S13: with a

75 S14: the old lady is looking at the man who is leaving
 S13: yes
 S14: aha
 S13: then we have . erm - . at one of er , the right . side or maybe , the lady er the left side of the lady - er→ an umbrella

80 S14: an umbrella and a briefcase
 S13: [and a] a briefcase yes
 S14: yes that's it OK
 S13: [that's] the same and then

85 S14: the briefcase has er - - something written - London , it says London
 S13: no , er that's another difference , I don't have it and then
 S14: right
 S13: er on the floor - - between the lady and the→ little boy

90 S14: yes
 S13: there is a er . I suppose . a sheet of paper something like that
 S14: er I don't have anything
 S13: well those are the three differences

95 S14: right
 S13: I think
 S14: I think so but er may /?/ should find s→ find some more er what about the pictures - the first picture . er . beside the lady

100 S13: mhm
 S14: [or]ly'know . 't says er - motorail
 S13: y yes the same thing
 S14: yeah there are some trees . and a hill . and er at the right of that picture we have - oh at the left of the picture yes . the left it's in my right

105 S13: yes (laugh)
 S14: there is ah another picture with a man
 S13: yes
 S14: at a counter table

110 S13: aha
 S14: OK what about the clock - the clock . on top of the door
 S13: it's at ten
 S14: no I have twelve
 S13: aha

115 S14: twelve o'clock sharp OK I think we get it
 S13: [so that's another difference] mhm b't now . I have to see the differences . between mine and yours

I have - erm . a house . it's , I suppose a part of a house -
 . and . a staircase

120 S15: mhm

S13: then . I have a , a girl a young girl - - maybe you know

S'visor: she could also describe hers

S13: so tell me what you have

S15: OK - there is a par of a house eh - there is a m - - a

125 little girl - she is bringing tui - . toy a big toy they are
 toys - erm - - in the first step

S13: mhm

S15: erm from erm - the on the wall there are two ornaments

S13: mhm

130 S15: some / ? / near the the girl there there is a tables . who
 - - - is this m / ? /

S13: mhm

S15: and erm beside the the beside the - beside the steps m
 there are , erm , the basket - - the basket - - with

135 ornaments - - it is all

S13: mhm so you have - a , little girl

S15: a little girl

S13: I have - - I'd say she must be a teenager - in her last
 years - - erm she must be - nineteen - so there is the

140 S15: [I have five years no five years]

S13: first difference I wh what is the girl doing

S15: [er estel playing with
 the toys
 playing with her toys

145 S15: [with] toys

S13: what are her toys

S13: a bear a bear

S15: [mhm] yes . ah - but this girl is - . ah .
 conversing - . with someone 'n the telephone

150 S15: na ah is talking mhm

S13: erm . she is without shoes - - .

S15: si si

S13: she has shoes . mine doesn't - so th that s one difference .
 that she's - she's er

155 S15: [/ ? /]

S13: she is wearing her shoes

S15: she is

S13: she is not . so . another difference . erm . how many
 ornaments do you have on the wall

160 S15: er mer on the wall we have plate and - plates

S13: aha

S15: and - er it's a clock

S13: it's a clock

S15: [it's] a clock mhm bu the hour - the hour - not

165 clear - it's a very dark

S13: uhm oh well I don't have any clock you cannot see the hour

S15: I don't see the hours

S13: you cannot see the hour - is there something else you - you
 could describe - from this - place

170 S15: / ? /

S13: there is a small . carpet - here

S15: [no no there] is a small table -
table eh (whispering)
S14: carpet or rugs
175 S15: oh mhm - yes the stairs - and the erm the staircase are -
have rugs no have rugs are from rugs
S14: [yeah the stairs] have rugs
S15: mhm
S14: how are your rugs - er J.
180 S15: mm
S14: how are your rugs - what colour are they
S15: beige brown . brown brown
S13: a mixing of beige and brown - well I think that mine all the
floor is covered with er - rugs . carpets . and the I have a
185 small one . a- . grey one
S15: this is the green one
S13: do you have flowers
S15: more or less
S13: mhm I have flowers - and a lamp
190 S15: [this is a] lamp
S13: the girl is sitting
S15: on no this is / ? /
S13: yes the same - what is the girl doing where is she sitting -
mine is sitting on a table
195 S15: mine er - the girl is sitting in it is the first step
S13: in the first step of the staircase aha that's another
S15: [yes] [yes] [yes] [/ ? /]
S13: difference so I think that we have found
S15: [it's a / ? /five years]
200 S13: five years old - that's one difference , though the other
S15: [five years]
S13: one of . the carpets
S15: yes
S13: then the this girl has no shoes the other one has shoes -
205 there are flowers here there are no flowers there
S15: [no flowers]

End of recording

Group F

S16: I have a pi (laughs) I have a picture of a house it is the
entrance of a house with the staircase - the walls are
painted green and there're . a couple of rectangular persian
rugs on the floor now at the entrance there is a high small
5 table - 'n er on top of it there is a teleph a black
telephone and . a- base containing some green leafs now in
the central part of the table there is a . cardholder full
of envelopes on the wall there is erm rou a square mirror .
surrounded with wood . and a . a picture a round picture .
10 now in the first step there is a- five year old girl sitting
down . with a- small brown teddy bear . she seems to be

- 15 S17: talking and playing with it - there is also close to the staircase a wheel basket - carrying maybe an umbrella
all right . in my I have . some differences in between yours and my mine picture there instead of a five year old girl there is erm I think maybe a fifteen years old girl she's using a telephone but it's brown - the'rm - there's not a small - t'erm a high table there is a very l low one with some flowers and a vase - with the flowers - a lamp a magazine - there is no basket there is a teddy bear instead of it and there is only one white rug . on the floor -
- 20 S16: OK M T and G.V.
S18: OK now Y and N well in my picture it seems to be a travel agency . there is a man who is er handling a handbag and he is in a hurry getting out of the travel agency inside the travel agency there is a man drinking a cup of coffee - outside the agency there is an old woman - standing - near it and near the old woman there is a bag and an umbrella . there are some signs like way out toilets buffet
- 30 S19: - - - the difference ah ah I see the boy - below the buffet . it's very sad - eh - there are two er square portraits and a big . title or sign sub crowd croydon . and - and there is three announces - - and the old lady is - looking at the man who is hurry

End of recording

Group J

- S30: in our picture - there is a lady - that is . is calling by phone - perhaps she is talking to a friend - erm on the wall there is a big picture - os a shore - the sea a tree -
- 5 S31: a beach
S30: it's like a beach . and a house - to the right of the picture there is a stair - a white stair - with brown there is a brown rug on the stairs - and on the first step there is a bear - a toy - - erm - the girl lady is sitting on a table next to the lady there is . a flower pot with - six . white flowers on it - next to the flower pot there is - a lamp a lamp . a white lamp
- 10 S31: - - - - - yeah - on the - table
S30: on the table
S31: on the table th' there are
- 15 S30: there is
S31: there is a magazine
S30: open
S31: open - - on the floor . there is a - - a beize - rug - - - - on the right - - of the picture - on the sma-ll table
- 20 S30: there is - - - a plant - -
the plant is a chifera - I know the name of the plant - the lady is wearing blue jeans and a white - - er what's this little shirt a white . blouse she's not wearing shoes - the floor is dark - and it's black and the wall is orange - - -

- 25 - I think that's . that's a big description
S32: yes
S30: / ? / what have you got
S32: in our picture mm→ there is a girl . sitting in the last
ladder - er she is playning with er with her → toy - and
30 S30: [on]
S32: there is a - uwash - erm - there is a basket . near the la
ladder - - -
S33: erm there is a→ - ci circline er ornament on the wall - and
erm - there are two→ beautifu→l rugs . on the flur . then er→
35 the stairs are white - the the girl is er→ . wearing a→ - er
. cream colour - er - dress - and the→ table . the table is
er→ the table on the - - left . is er→ brown . is dark brown
- and on the table there - there is a→ . flower - pot . amnd
a telephone too a a black telephone . m m - - - - - that's
40 all
S30: mm well now we have to find three differences
S32: one the girl
S30: one

End of recording

Exercise 2 'What's my Nationality?'

Group B

- S4: mm what what country do you think this - is . it's in europe
 S5: - - - united st erm
 S4: in europe - - it's near france . and italy - - - - eh in this
 country makes clocks - - - makes a lot of clocks
 5 S5: switzerland
 S4: switzerland
 S5: switzerland
 S4: OK you please
 S5: what country you think it is
 10 S4: er maybe it's erm in . in what part of+ . the world is this .
 that country
 S5: in thouth america
 S4: in south america
 S5: yes
 15 S4: er in the nor on on the thouth
 S5: in north
 S4: north eh equator ecua
 S5: no
 S4: colombia
 20 S5: yes
 S4: OK - - er - - you have to guess that country it's a big country
 S5: brazil
 S4: no in eu near europe yes
 S5: mm - - - - africa
 25 S4: no near europe no no it's in africa it's a big big country
 S5: [europe yes yes no europe]
 canada
 S4: north america is canada a big country - - - it's eh . it's erm
 it's like the united states for example - it's a big big country
 30 S5: london
 S4: n it's a big country - - - (to supervisor) - when for - example
 . I ask to her about a country and I say it's near to europe for
 example in this case - what - how how can I help her
 S'visor: well she has got to ask questions - you see
 35 S4: mm
 s'v: you've got to ask about it
 S5: it's er
 s'v: is it to the east or to the west
 S4: yes
 40 S5: [ahh]
 s'v: you see ask her
 S4: yes
 S5: is it to the n-orth
 S4: east east - - - it's a big big country - - and they+ - and . 'n
 45 S5: [east]
 S4: they and they take er they drink er . like whisky . like it's like
 whisky no
 s'v: yes
 S4: bodka bodka - - - vodka russia russia (laughs)
 50 S5: [russia russia] russia (laughs)

- S4: I'm going to stop (stops tape)
 S5: em what . country er you think it is
 S4: er it's in what . in what part of the wor' in→ . in north america
 europe . or→ - africa - asia
 55 S5: [a] - no it's in er→m . in europe
 S4: OK it's . in the middle on the north . east or
 S5: [it] has er→ true
 or→ no false - - it er has the form of the boat
 S4: as aah it ha the form of the boot boot
 60 S5: boot
 S4: OK
 S5: boot
 S4: it's er . italy
 S5: aha yes hm hm
 65 S4: OK I'm going to ask you erm once again OK . what coutry do you
 think eer e is it is e this country
 S5: [em→ → → lem this continent . is it
 S4: [this cont]
 inent . yes
 70 S5: in this continent
 S4: yes this continent but er you - you don't know where is - where
 it is - for example
 S5: it's in er south
 S4: - south no no no . no no it's in south america
 75 S5: is central
 S4: central america yes it's in central america
 S5: it's mexico
 S4: it's mexico that's right - you ask me
 S5: - - mm i this country
 80 S4: er this country . it's in europe
 S5: yes
 S4: in europe
 S5: - mm→ →
 S4: near . near france
 85 S5: - - perhaps - - -
 S4: no→ no it's in europe - it's in→ erm
 S5: africa
 S4: africa
 S5: mm yes of course
 90 S4: africa - er in the . in the north of africa - - yes
 S5: yes yes
 S4: OK
 S5: there are three - . praimids
 S4: three pyrami three pyramids I think . yes I s egypt
 95 S5: [three pyramids] aha
 S4: - - OK - guess this country - - don't look
 S5: [in what] continent - is it
 S4: [it's]
 in eu . ah you ask me please (laughs)
 100 S5: ehm - - in what in what continent - af
 S4: I'm going to ask you what continent
 S5: what sea in what part
 S4: erm for example continent is europe america asiancia asia er
 S5: [america / ? /]

- 105 S4: africa ya
 S5: [ya] - - I think it's in→ asia
 S4: no no no .it's - it's in→ an old continent it's an old continent
 S5: europe
 S4: europe that's right
 110 S5: . mm→ it's in the north
 S4: it's in the . in the north no it's on the - - opposite of east -
 - opposite of east - west it's in the west - it's in the west
 S5: [of east west west]
 S4: side
 115 S5: england
 S4: no it's in the north england
 S5: - emm→
 S4: it's a . it's a country li er that . speaks spanish no
 S5: yes
 120 S4: (laughs) OK . this country . OK this
 S5: this country is in erm . 'n our continent
 S4: in our continent
 S5: 'n this is
 S4: in south america
 125 S5: yes
 S4: it's in south america
 S5: it's in the south

End of recording

Group C

- S7: what's the name of the country . where you have er . the
 beautiful scenery . er high mountains and a wonderful climate
 S6: high mountains wonderful climate - er
 S7: people . tourists go there to sk er ski
 5 S8: - - it's switzerland
 S7: right
 S8: mm
 S6: erm ja I ask you one
 S8: mhm
 10 S6: - - er what the name of the country . tha-t . is erm, - side
 of ecuador
 S8: side of ecuador
 S6: yes - erm→ the people are very friendly
 S8: er they're - here peru
 15 S6: yes (laughs)
 S8: what is the country erm - - m - that er - our teachers come
 from
 S6: british (laugh)
 S8: yeah
 20 S6: you have to take another cards
 S7: mm what's the name of the country where they have eh an
 advance er . mm - mm . industry - and they→ grow up right
 after the - war and th' yeah second war - and they
 S6: [the second war]

- 25 S7: are a+ - m - mm short people . ah+m - er grey colour and
 S6: [germany]
 S7: black hair - an'+ their eyes are not round - - and they are
 very+ hardworking people - all . er+ their houses are made
 of wood
- 30 S6: [their] th' their n their colour - their colour
 S7: yellow colour
 S6: yellow
 S7: aha
 S6: japan
- 35 S7: right
 S8: right japan yes / ? /
 S6: fines - and you
 S8: / ? /
 S6: fine
- 40 S8: no but I - I didn't take one
 S6: what the name of the country that is erm+ (asks for word in
 spanish)
 S7: borders
 S6: borders
- 45 S7: bordering
 S6: tha that border our country peru - at the+ m - east at the
 east
 S8: at the east - mm - bolivia
 S6: yes that's right
- 50 S8: where is the country mm+ that mm+ - thirty father was wrong
 S6: mexico / ? /
 S7: erm what's the name of the country - er who are they have er
 - cold weather - erm - people are very rough
 S6: it's a europe a europe
- 55 S7: europe and they+ don't speak - er - english they don't speak
 spanish - an+d but er -
 S6: they were
 S7: they belong to the . third group
 S6: - erm russia
- 60 S7: right
 S6: (laughs) - - erm it's a country that is at the south peru
 S8: - south peru
 S6: yes
 S8: chile
- 65 S6: only chile
 S8: [only] chile
 S6: yes that's the country
 S8: mm yeah what is the country that erm+ - that they are
 famous . with the spaghetti
- 70 S6: mm
 S7: italy
 S8: italy
 S7: - - eh what's the name of the country that is divided in .
 in - two parts
- 75 S6: two parts
 S7: and er - . where the english - language come from
 S6: [it's s] Germany
 S7: right

S6: yes
 80 S8: - erm - what is the country then where erm - eh people .
 often use english
 S6: united states
 S8: mhm
 S6: ha - - - - yeah . er . it's a country that's is at the
 85 south - erm - on the south . america . K then . country that
 [america]
 S6: is erm . big build and there are s - - what's the name of
 this country
 S8: sud america no
 90 S6: yes
 S8: south . er it's very big
 S6: yes
 S8: eh brazil
 S6: brazil yes that's it
 95 S7: (14 secs) what's the name of the country where the people is
 er well know-n . as the- - for a it's- - er politics po - and
 they are very polite - and they speak a very soft language
 - - in europe
 S6: - - - - erm . france
 100 S7: france
 S6: mhm
 S8: again I speaks
 S6: (laugh)
 S8: what's the name of the country that is . at the north of peru
 105 . / ? / - our - friendly
 S7: [limit the both countries]
 S6: (laughs) monkey country now it's another mon (laughs)
 S7: [ecuador]
 S8: (laughs) monkey country
 110 S7: ecuador
 S8: ecuador yes
 S6: ecuador 'kyou
 S8: you have to take one that's yours
 S6: [it's his] you have to take one
 115 S7: [no no]
 we haven't finished yet (27 secs)
 S8. what is the country where m there are este famous pyramids
 S7: egypt
 S6: egypt
 120 S7: egypt
 S8: egypt aha
 S6: what is . the country that fidel castro govern
 S8: cuba
 S6: easy easy (laughter) easy question
 125 S7: - - eh what is the name of the country where they speak
 the pure spanish
 S6: spain spain not your spanish
 S8: [spain spain]
 S7: fine
 130 S6: we're finish then . stop
 End of recording

Group D

- S12: am I am I supposed to er . ask questions
 S9: yes
 S10: we're going to ask you questions and you will answer them
 so we
 5 S9: [yeah] . one player takes a card / ? / - the others
 try to guess what country
 S10: yeah
 S9: so you turn
 S10: OK - i where which continent is that country
 10 S12: s south america
 S11: - - eh - south america is it eh - at the north part of south
 america or at the south part of south america south america
 S12: it's in the ahm - middle yes in the middle
 S11: the centre
 15 S12: the centre
 S9: so perhaps erm - is it a big one - or is it erm - is it
 bigger than our country
 S12: no it's shor'er
 S9: it's shorter
 20 S10: - er is it next to the ocean , or . pacific ocean or atlantic
 ocean - which ocean is it next to or it doesn't -it's not
 S12: [it's arh does]
 S10: next to the to any ocean
 S12: no it's not
 25 S10: in the centre
 S11: eh - does i . is this coun . does this country have sea
 S9: no it doesn't
 S11: it doesn't
 S12: no it doesn't
 30 S11: i does it have a lake . titicaca lake
 S12: no no no
 S9: [no]
 S10: in the centre
 S9: it doesn't have a
 35 S11: - are you sure it doesn't have lake
 S9: yes
 S11: because the only pla the only country which does not have
 S10: [no]
 S11: the sea is er - is the bolivia no -
 40 S10: [no] are you sure . no
 S11: what can it be
 S12: no no no se desconfia
 S10: [no] is at at the north or at the south
 of peru or / ? /
 45 S12: no (laughs)
 S11: at the north or south of peru
 S12: at the north
 S9: to the north of peru - so all of them have a
 S11: [the north of peru uh]
 50 S10: [north of peru]
 S11: it limits with peru
 S12: yes

S11: yes so it's colombia
 S12: right (laughs)
 55 S9: colombia has a mm sea
 S12: [has has sea]
 S11: yes
 S10: [it] has a lot of sea
 S9: yeah it has sea it's famous to the→ / ? / beaches
 60 S10: OK
 S12: right so it's your turn
 S10: [so it's]
 S11: my
 S9: [the] only country which does not have any sea is er
 65 S10: bolivia
 S9: bolivia
 S11: yes
 S9: but it's not in the middle - it's in the .
 in the nor in the north of s south america we have to study
 70 S12: [in the north]
 S9: geog→ raphy (laughs) ah it's tricky - oh - did you see
 S12: (laughs)
 S10: [OK]
 no we didn't
 75 S11: [no]
 S12: [no]
 S11: OK - eh what continent is it
 S9: - I don't know (laughing)
 S10: come on (laughs)
 80 S12: (laughs)
 S9: - er you see for us er er I don't know exactly - some part
 between er - europe and asia
 S11: OK
 S10: europe 'n asia - ah - it's very far from here (laughs)
 85 S9: it's a
 S11: [is it] a big country
 S9: perhaps as big's - as ours
 S10: [do you] have any idea o+f what language
 they speak there
 90 S9: ye→s but I can't tell you because if I tell you what language
 they speak there the
 S12: maybe japan
 S10: [but] you said that er
 S9: oh it's not japan because japan is in asia itself . it's
 95 somewhere in the→ - middle east
 S10: china
 S9: no→ china no
 S12: korea
 S9: no→
 100 S10: but don't can't you answer what language they speak
 S9: no because if I say what language they speak you'll probably
 know what . what country it is yes
 S11: [india] OK
 S10: (laughter) got it (laughter)
 105 S12: (laughter)
 S11: OK - start making your questions

S12: what continent
 S11: s south america
 S12: aah
 110 S10: - - - does it limit with peru
 S11: yes mm
 S9: - is it to the north
 S11: no
 S12: maybe it's chile - ch ch
 115 S9: chile
 S12: chile
 S11: don't give your answers until you are sure it's not chile
 S12: (laughter)
 S10: (laughter) - is it at the n . well I said it . at the north
 120 or at the south or at the east of peru
 S9: at the west (laughs)
 S11: south east
 S10: sou ah argentina
 S11: no→
 125 S9: bolivia
 S11: bolivia because argentina doesn't limits with peru
 S10: oh right
 S12: (laughs)
 S11: it's bolivia - it doesn't have sea
 130 S10: [right] - you may ask
 - very easy
 S12: [mm]
 S11: er
 S9: is it your country (laughs)
 135 S11/12: (laughter)
 S10: [well not] - not our country but
 S9: a proper foreign country I mean - limiting our country
 S10: no no no
 S9: they want to be part of our country or they want our country
 140 to be part of theirs
 S10: [(laughs)] aha I suppose so I suppose at least
 we - at least we're very interested in that country
 S9: it's aha we're very interested in that country
 S12: / ? /
 145 S10: / ? / no I don't think so
 S11: it is at the north or the south of peru
 S10: it's at the north the very north of peru
 S9: towards ecuador perhaps
 S10: no
 150 S11: - - - it limits with peru
 S10: no it's very far from peru
 S12: mexico
 S9: ah
 S10: it's at the north of peru , right but it's very far from peru
 155 S11: not limiting peru
 S9: [it] could be in europe
 S12: (laughs)
 S10: (laughs)
 S11: eh - is it to the→ . [pacific ocean . ni

160 S10: it it has . a part of it has . er it limits with the pacific
ocean
S9: - so it's in north south or central america
S10: north america
S9: so it's the united states
165 S10: [yes]
S12: oh (laughs) - - - right - begin - begin your questions
S11: continent
S12: asia
S11: asia
170 S9: do they speak japanese
S12: that's right (laughs)
S9: yes (laughs)
S12: [japan] (laughs)
S9: [so it's japan] (laughs)
175 S10/11: (laugh) (laugh)
S9: oof this is a very difficult one
S12: really (laughs)
S11: what continent
S9: america
180 S11: america . north america central america or south america
S12: [south am]
S9: south america
S11: south america . does it limits with peru
S9: no but you're not the only one who are going to ask
185 something
S11: answer please the question
S12: (laughs)
S10: [next] to the . pacific ocean or atlantic oceans
S9: pacific
190 S10: er→m
S11: limiting with peru or not
S9: erm ye→s
S10: OK so
S11: ecuador
195 S12: [sol]
S9: no I'm sorry
S12: argentina
S9: in fact it's not limiting with peru
S11: ah
200 S10: it's not limiting with peru
S9: no
S10: but at the south
S9: south america
S10: pacific ocean
205 S11: but at the south or at the north of peru
S10: to the south or to the north of peru
S9: neither of them
S11: to the east - of peru
S9: no it limits with the→ pacific ocean . no because it doesn't
210 S12: [is brazil]
S9: limit with the pacific ocean
S12: oh
S9: - - and our . this country doesn't limit with er→ with

S11: [with] our
 215 country - is it a big country
 S9: more or less . not as big as brazil
 S11: not as big as peru
 S9: - yes as big as peru
 S11: - - ehmm - to the north part
 220 S9: north
 S11: south america
 S9: cen erm central part of south america
 S11: - - - - and i it's limited in the - pacific ocean
 S9: [with the pacific ocean] and
 225 it doesn't limit neither with er - ecuador nor to chile
 S10: venezuela
 S9: no I mean
 S12: [no] venezuela's
 S9: yeah it limits with both - I'm I'm I'm wrong it limits with -
 230 ecuador an' no - and
 S12: [uruguay]
 S11: 'n with brazil
 S9: [/ ? /] no it limits with ecuador brazil - an'
 many other countries an' chile also
 235 S12: argentina
 S9: 'ts in the central part of - south america
 S12: [argentina]
 S11: with chile too
 S9: with chile too chile too in the pacific ocean
 240 S10: - - - with chile
 S11: [I don't] know any country like this - like this
 S10: al ala
 S11: it's at the south of peru
 S9: no / ? /
 245 S12: ['s in the centre]
 S10: [at brazil]
 S11: ecuador
 S12: it's peru
 S9: it's peru . of course (laughter)
 250 S10/11/12: (laughter)
 S11: very good OK - start your questions
 S9: what continent is it
 S11: europe
 S9: europe - is it in the continent itself or - somewhere - n near
 255 the continent
 S11: it's an island / ? / (laughs)
 S10: ha . england
 S11: britain
 S9: britain
 260 S10: great britain OK
 S11: very good
 S10: erm - start
 S11: what eh continent
 S10: europe
 265 S9: europe mhm - they're in the same continent - in the
 continent itself

S10: [yeah] we'll - it's in - also somehow like 'n
island because it has only . a . little p' . a very short part
a very er . m → not wi er narrow part of land - m - gathering
270 this this country to the continent
S12: - italia
S10: no it's not italy
S9: [italy]
S11: portugal
275 S10: yes
S12: portugal
S11: - - - - - OK
S12: again
S11: what continent
280 S12: it's south america
S10: again
S9: er limiting with the → pacific or the atlantic ocean
S12: pacific ocean
S9: it's towar to the north of peru
285 S12: right
S9: ecuador
S12: - - - right
S11: go on A. A. it's your turn
S9: no you've only had one I've finished/ ? /
290 S11: [no it's your turn A.]
S9: no because we haven't had two cards continue until every
player has had two turns of ta of taking a card / ? /
S11: OK but
S10: OK
295 S11: continue we have turns
S9: no but we can't go on like this
S11: [so it's] your turn
S10: OK
S12: (laughs) you haven't seen anything
300 S9: I have seen that one so do another one
S10: OK
S11: what continent
S10: europe
S11: eh → do they speak english
305 S10: no
S9: french
S11: [french]
S10: yes (laughs)
S9/11/12: (laugh)
310 S11: my turn
S10: are we supposed to mix them
S11: OK
S10: what continent is it in
S11: europe
315 S9: next to france - near france
S11: yes
S9: germany
S11: no
S9: italy
320 S11: no (laughing)

S10: what language do they speak
 S9: [italy]
 S11: - well . if I tell you that
 S9: swedish close to swedish
 325 S11: mhm
 S9: so it's sweden
 S11: no
 S10: switzerland
 S11: yes
 330 S10: aha they speak french and german and italian
 S9: [german and italian] but they don't
 speak swedish
 S11: no - - so it was my fault
 S10: - - oh - start
 335 S11: continent
 S10: america american continent
 S12: south america
 S10: no
 S9/11: north america
 340 S10: no
 S9: central america
 S10: yes
 S9: 'n it's a big one
 S11: it's an island
 345 S10: an island
 S11/12: mhm
 S9: [mhm] fidel castro lives there
 S10: yeah (laughs) that's right
 S9: let's go to the next room
 350 S10: OK

End of recording

Group E

S14: OK I have a card with me representing a country and we have
 S13: [aha]
 S14: the name of the country
 S13: the name of the country - so we have to describe the country
 5 S14: - . have to guess what country . is . here
 S13: [your coun . try]
 S15: what country
 S14: yes - - - make questch me just make - questions
 S15: [abou] about the
 10 country
 S14: yes
 S15: mm+ what country is
 S14: that's what you have to guess
 S13: no you have to guess you have to say where
 15 S15: [ah]
 S14: ask questions
 S15: ah yes

S14: about the country
 S15: about the country
 20 S14: yes
 S15: - how many peoples mm habitants
 S14: - this country (laugh) - has - - - I d'no about er this is a
 . you know this is a . small country - which has . a lot of
 people
 25 S15: mm
 S14: a lot of people
 S15: a lot of people
 S14: lot and lots of people I think it has more people . than it
 should have
 30 S13: mhm
 S14: OK
 S13: mhm
 S14: another question
 S13: mhm a developed or a un or a→ developing country
 35 S14: it's a developing country very developing country
 S13: developing country
 S14: yes
 S15: culturally
 S13: [I mean] . developed . are the ones already developed
 40 like united states and all
 S14: it's a developed . 'ts a developed
 S13: [so developed] - developing are the
 ones - ah like peru . that are just . developingi
 S14: ah no they they are not ah developing th they are developed
 45 S13: aha
 S14: already developed
 S13: erm . is it in a continent
 S14: - it's part of a continent but it's not er
 S13: exactly a continent
 50 S14: exactly a continent
 S13: aha
 S15: eh erm→ - north america - is it north america
 S14: no no it isn't north america it's far from north america
 S15: mm mm mm mm how is the culture
 55 S14: - I think er - their culture's er . very - rich . they have
 lots of er habits which er . already er - which er still .
 are - are→ taken into account in the present
 S15: mm
 S14: they are erm
 60 S13: for them or for everybody
 S14: for them
 S13: for them . ancient culture
 S14: ancient . yes
 S15: mm how is the
 65 S14: they don't use any knives
 S15: [how is the] how is the→ how is the climate
 S14: - - - mm - climate I think is er - hot in some parts of the
 country 'n' . cold in some other parts
 S15: mhm
 70 S13: - but I suppose that spring is beautiful
 S14: sure . spring is beautiful and they like to→ they they like

- S15: [and eh]
- S14: to to grow - er flowers
- S15: and the winter→ cold
- 75 S14: yes
- S15: mm
- S14: we were talking about the flowers they like to . to grow . they are→ very beautiful and they have er→ - - they they know a way -
- 80 S13: to arrange them
- S14: to arrange the flowers and to make er no and to make er . I mean a→ - a tree - smaller
- S13: aha bonsai
- S14: the the same yeah that's it bonsai - that's a famous
- 85 S13: [yeah](laughs)
- S15: there are - the e no how is the→ newspaper eh
- S13: - I'd say that the handwriting is different - also
- S15: [yeah]
- ah yes (laughs)
- 90 S14: (laughs) . yes handwriting is different
- S15: mm
- S14: theyn . they won't write with er . just signs
- S13: ideograms
- S14: - - - what country which it . could be
- 95 S13: - has a relations with me (laughs)
- S14/15: (laugh)
- S13: it's japan
- S14: OK japan yes . that's right
- S13: let's take another one OK now it's my turn
- 100 S14: OK your turn
- S13: (laughs) I have to - - - OK - -
- S14: er in which continent is that - country
- S13: in which countr is which continent
- S14: no not continent - I said country is in which continent
- 105 S13: [in which continent] -
- it's in our continent
- S14: in our continent
- S13: mhm
- S14: - in the south→ - or in the north
- 110 S13: it's not in the south
- S15: near the ocean
- S13: yes it's near the ocean
- S15: mm - - mm - how is the erm - - - erm - . people
- S13: friendly . I'd say they're friendly . most of them
- 115 S15: [friendly]
- - erm - the culture
- S13: their culture - I'd say they're a young country - even though they are not so young - they're a young country
- S15: mhm how how is the education
- 120 S13: - different from ours
- S14: - erm - you said a young country it means that it's a developing -
- S13: it's a developed country
- S14: [is it] a developed country
- 125 S13: mhm

- S14: ah a developed country - - - erm - - - - does that country-
- - has - - - - - does this country have . an
international language
- S13: yes
- 130 S14: - so I suppose it's - 'ts the united states
- S13: mhm . you're right - I say . it's , a young country because I
consider it's young I don't consider it's an old ah - one
because of the culture - you're the one who chooses now
- S14: yeah that's right - we have / ? / and
- 135 S13: OK
- S15: 's
- S13: is it a little or a small country
- S15: - bigger
- S13: bigger (laughs) in the old
- 140 S15: (laughs) no it's
- S14: (laughs)
- S13: or in the young continents
- S15: erm the young continents - the young continent
- S13: in the young continent - america
- 145 S15: mhm
- S13: it's in america - south america
- S15: mhm
- S13: near peru
- S15: n-ear
- 150 S14: bording bording peru
- S15: bording (laughs) bording peru
- S13: (laughs) / ? / erm
- S14: north or to the west
- S15: to the north
- 155 S14: [of peru] - north
- S13: to the north mhm
- S14: north is it near the ocean
- S15: I think - erm
- S14: [so] it is ecuador
- 160 S15: - no no - it's a little country
- S13: [ah] it's a little country
- S14: you you said it was bording
- S15: [no- / ? / ecuador - 's a little country
- S13: aha- . their- language is spanish
- 165 S15: spanish - aha
- S13: - mm - - erm - - - language spanish
- S15: and the people friendly
- S13: the people what . friendly (laughing) the people are friendly
- S14: friendly
- 170 S13: friendly - oil was something very important in their
economies
- S15: mm - - mm these are / ? / er
- S13: - oil oil . let's see erm . petroleum
- S15: / ? /
- 175 S13: is something very important
- S15: si - I suppose so
- S13: venezuela
- S15: no no . is near
- S13: colombia then

- 180 S15: (laughter)
 S14: colombia OK - colombia right
 S13: I was going to say something about the cumbias (laughter) ah
 the national dance
 S14: / ? ? / - oh - the laughter)
- 185 ask questions first of all ask questions ask your q estions
 S15: how are the→ . people
 S14: the people
 S15: aha
 S14: the people is . is friendly - people have - 'ts has er→ - -
 190 very nice habits
 S13: mm - what do you mean very nice by v very nice habits -
 they don't bother other people they don't habits
 S14: [they don't like] to bother
 other people
- 195 S13: aha they're very polite
 S14: polite really polite that's er one of their characteristics
 S15: in our continent
 S14: - no it's not in our continent
 S13: mm
- 200 S14: - - - - it's in a continent which is - - to the north
 S15: north north america north america
 S13: [in the old continent] - - aha europe
 S14: no not europe
 S13: it's not europe
- 205 S14: no . it's
 S15: north america
 S13: it's a part of europe
 S14: it's a part of europe
 S13: ah part of europe - - it's an island - a big island
- 210 S14: yes a big island
 S13: aha - - - what's the→
 S15: aha
 S13: native language (laughs)
 S14: english
- 215 S13: english is the native language
 S15: ireland
 S13: ireland
 S14: no
 S13: near ireland
- 220 S15: / ? /
 S14: - near ireland . not so near

End of recording

Group F

- S16: now what continent is it your country in
 S17: central america
 S18: - - mm what language - they use to talk
 S17: spanisht
 5 S19: - - - - m - how is about the population of the country

S17: I think it's+ very crowded
 S16: - - an' what is its capital city
 S17: mexico
 S18: (laughter) is your country mexico
 10 S17: - yes - where is your country+ situated in which co er
 continent
 S18: [in south] america
 S17: south america
 S16: - now is it close to our country
 15 S18: - hh - hh - yes
 S17: is it our country
 S18: yes (laughter)
 S17: in which con continent is your er . country situated
 S16: it is located in europe
 20 S17: europe
 S18: the capital city
 S16: madrid
 S18: - besides - spain (laughter)
 S17: where is you-r . country . situated located
 25 S19: it's in south america
 S16: is it close to our country
 S19: yeah 't is
 S17: - ah+ is it a large - country
 S19: - yes
 30 S17: - ah+
 S18: what language do yo they talk
 S19: . spanish
 S17: bolivia
 S19: no
 35 S17: is it near the ocean the+ pacific ocean
 S18: capital city - - capital city
 S19: [it is] - - - - santiago
 S17: ah that's chile chile
 S16: now what continent is your capital in
 40 S17: europe
 S16: what language do they speak
 S17: erm portuguese
 S16: - is it portugal
 S17: yes (laughs) - which con
 45 S19: is it in south america
 S18: no
 S17: which continent s . is it located
 S18: eur pe
 S17: europe
 50 S16: what language do they speak
 S18: english
 S16: ah+ is it - england
 S18: yes
 S16: england
 55 S17: which continent you-r - country situated
 S16: it is+ located in europe
 S17: europe - ahm - which language do they+ . speak
 S16: they speak italian
 S17: (laughter) italy

- 60 S16: what continent is your country located in
 S18: - it's in europe
 S19: capital city
 S16: language
 S18: french
 65 S19: ah
 S16: france
 S19: france

End of recording

Group G

- S20: L. is taking a card
 S21: - I choose a card start in asking the questions
 S20: - erm the country you have is from . south america or north america
 5 S21: - this country is in south america
 S22: - - the country is a→ big or small country
 S21: it's a big country
 S20: is it . brazil
 S21: - no . it's in the north of brazil
 10 S22: - 'n th' north of brazil . ehm
 S20: north of brazil - there isn any other country in the north of brazil
 S21: - it's eh - it's south south america
 S22: - - - - erm . ehm could be . you said it s ehm south of
 15 brazil
 S21: ye no it's eh a little . ehm at the top of brazil
 S22: at the top of . above brazil in south america eh→ . so the country is ah - er go to the→ . erm - - the paci 1 - atlantic atlantic ocean
 20 S21: eh yes - it's next to the atlantic ocean
 S20: there isn't any . b→ig country in er northern part brazil . very very small countries in the northern part of brazil
 S21: [mm]
 mm yeah there is
 25 S22: - - - - the what language do they speak
 S21: - they speak spanish
 S22: - - - oh no it is in the south part of brazil - - south part so . eh→ ts so this country gives to the eh - er pacific ocean
 30 S21: . ye→s this country is in the pacific ocean
 S20: - - - - - might be peru
 S21: yes it is
 S20: - - - so now we have to take another card
 S22: K I choose this card . start . asking . questions
 35 S21: - - - mm it's a big country
 S22: . yes it's big
 S20: where is it located in→ . europe or in→ america
 S22: in america
 S20: - north america

40 S22: north america
 S21: - that country is surround by . er pacific ocean or by atlantic ocean
 S22: it's surround by . er pacific ah ocean an atlantic ocean
 S20: you said it's a big country in north america
 45 S22: it's a big country in north america has . two er . has surrounded by a . by two oseans
 S20: m - - i - it can only be th'united states
 S22: it's the united states
 S20: - - so I'm going to take another card - - - mm - erm
 50 S22: where's . where's the that country in→ europe north america south america -
 S20: it is in europe
 S21: 'ts in europe
 S22: it's er a big or a small country
 55 S20: - it isn't too big but isn't too s . small
 S22: - - what ocean is next to this country
 S20: - the atlantic ocean
 S22: the atlantic
 S20: yes
 60 S21: perhaps there is not a+ . a large lagoon
 S20: - - - relatively
 S22: - what language do they speak
 S20: - - italian
 S22: so it's italy
 65 S20: yes - - L. take another card
 S21: no that's all
 S22: then I choose two turns
 S21: another - - cards
 S22: - - - - where is . this country - - I mean ah . in what ah
 70 . ah . continent
 S21: it's in south america
 S22: - it's big . or small
 S21: . erm - - - it's a small coun country
 S20: is it to the north or to the south of - south america . of
 75 peru
 S21: it's in the south of peru
 S22: - what language do they speak
 S21: they speak spanish
 S20: everybody speaks spanish in south america
 80 S22: brazil
 S20: mm except brazil
 S22: eh has ah asse ye - has access to the ocean
 S21: . no - i she doesn't . i it doesn't
 S22: so the only country that have has . ah - hasn't . has doesn't
 85 . access to the ocean is bolivia
 S21: - yes it is
 S22: - - - - now it's my turn . I choose - this card - OK . ask questions
 S20: - - - where is this country located in→ europe or in→ .
 90 america
 S22: . er this country's located in→ - asia
 S21: - this country is surround by . erm oce ocean atlantic

- S22: . i no it's er surround by - - indico - i indico o ocean - -
or indian ocean
- 95 S20: - - erm - - what language d' they speak
S22: they speak japan - . so
S20: they it's obviously japan - japanese so they→ they're . 't's
japan
S21: [japan]
- 100 S22: they speak japanese 'n the country's japan OK your turn mm s
S22: where where's located this country
S20: . in europe
S22: - it's big or small
S20: - - it's not small not big
105 S22: what language - do they speak
S20: - - if I tell you what language they speak I tell you the
answer
S22: - - so can be→ - erm . it's a→ it's e it has access to the
ocean
- 110 S20: yes the→ atlantic ocean
S22: so it could be . er . portugal
S20: no
S22: er it's near it's
S20: yes
115 S22: so it's spain
S20: no it's france

End of recording

Group I

- S27: OK start
S28: I can see a country a large country in south america
S27: who are you talking to about about what
S28: a country
5 S27: that country is close to→ brazil
S28: no
S27: far far away
S28: no
S27: it's er what language do they talk do they speak
10 S28: they speak . portuguese
S27: portuguese
S28: yeah
S27: so
S28: it's easy
15 S27: OK it can be erm - - -
S29: can I er can ask
S27: yes
S29: some questions - OK what part is that er
S28: - in what part
20 S29: what part
S28: it's in south america
S29: south america

S27: [oh south america
 S28: OK
 25 S27: south america . portuguese
 S29: I can say you→ brazil
 S28: brazil . that was it
 S27: [I told] you brazil
 S28: [yeah] OK
 30 S27: you you must say . it is . it's brazil
 S29: OK
 S27: / ? / my god . I told you they talk portuguese yes it's
 brazil
 S28: [no] you you say you say it's far from brazil it's far
 35 S27:[you didn't say to me]
 from brazil I say no
 S27: oh . OK right
 S29: OK mm
 S27: well→ try to keep . I'm looking the the name - / ? / .
 40 don't show it
 S29: mm
 S28: what language do they→ speak , in this , country
 S29: but er I suppose the→ . african language
 S28: - african language
 45 S29: yeah
 S27: ah it's ah→ india
 S29: but erm . but er in my country there are . are all animals .
 an' er black men / ? /
 S28: / ? / and tigers and lions and other things
 50 S29: [tigers]
 S28: india
 S29: na
 S28: no it's not that
 S29: [that's] that's africa yes
 55 S27: africa (laughing)
 S28: eh→
 S27: africa
 S28: they o sea the people who→ who's living in this in this
 country . i speak eh→
 60 S27: india
 S28: - no . india
 S27: indian
 S28: no
 S27: indian language
 65 S29: [erm] but erm→ - er→ . in my - . in my country - mm
 - there are a long river erm→ whose name is er nil
 [S27'called]
 S28: ah
 S27: [nil]
 70 S29: [yes]
 S28: . egypt
 S27: oh egypt
 S29: egypt
 S28: but the people . e speak - er→ - arabia - not african
 75 language
 S27: no

S28: the people speak arabia
 S29: arabic language
 S28: arabic
 80 S29: I suppose but I don't know that er
 S27: egypt greek greek
 S29: no egypt
 S27: greece
 S29: / ? /
 85 S27: greek
 S28: greek
 S27: yeah greek - no
 S28: the nilo the nilo is the - the nilo river
 S29: [but er why is river]
 90 S27: [greek - greek]
 S29: - greek is / ? / - greek is pequenita
 S27: [the river river] no my god - no .
 they can speak greek
 S29: how very interesting greek egypt
 95 S28: [what egypt]
 S27: [yeah I have] students in college
 different from greece
 S29: [that's all right] the the country's all right
 S28: [all right]
 100 S27: and they speak greek
 S28: greek
 S29: OK
 S27: an' an' an' . also the written→ th' the writing they have .
 it's . v . very unusual you know , er→ they have like signs
 105 'n'→ all those things it's complete
 S28: erm I don't know
 S27: italian italian , from italy
 S28: and italy now
 S27: portuguese portuguese brazil but , greek . gree's greece . OK
 110 S29: OK that's all right
 S28: OK
 S27: so that's my point you have brazil . you have greece
 S29: egypt
 S28/27: egypt
 115 S27: - - - - - OK - erm - - - I've got a problem
 S29: [OK what's it at]
 S28: [in] what
 continent your country situated
 S27: [oh dear] mm
 120 S28: in what continent - this country is situated
 S27: [I got to] ask M.
 S28: - - what
 S27: - - something er→ - I'm not sure about the country / ? /
 wait a minute
 125 S28: [what's wrong]
 S29: OK erm - let's talk about your - your country - but er→ - -
 [S28: I I think]
 mm how many people are there
 S28: how many people what
 130 S29: are there in your country

S28: ah there are mm→ - sixty million people
 S29: not in brazil - our politics bring millions [sic] of people -
 it's impossible
 S27: (returning) OK - - - - - OK start asking questions
 135 S28: ah in brazil , no in your country my country is peru - - -
 well in what . in what continent . this country is situated
 S27: the erm -
 S28: america europe - ocean
 S27: - - close to→ the→ pacific ocean
 140 S28: pacifico pacific what
 S27: pacific ocean
 S29: pacific ocean
 S28: / ? /
 S27: there is ahm→
 145 S29: but that and erm→ but that's an→ , island - that's a iseland
 S28: [what language]
 S27: it's a city a city - a city like peru china -
 a city country city country
 S29: [a country a]
 150 S28: [a country a→] what language does - - -
 do they→ speak yeah
 S27: [do they speak] ah spanish
 S28: spanish it's not er spain (laughs)
 S29: [spanish] [but er→] 's that country I suppose
 155 er→ it's a southern area
 S27: south america that's right south america
 S29: [but erm er]
 S28: ['s close] to
 S27: I don't know
 160 S28: what country is close to this count . well eh 1
 S27: [close to→]
 S28: argentina is . close to this country
 S27: [ahm] so so
 S29: it's near→ to the pacific ocean . or the→ atlantic ocean
 165 S27: er to the pacific ocean
 S29: pacific ocean
 S28: chile
 S29: er but er - it is front of peru . or the→ - er southern peru
 S27: [no]
 170 to the west to the east to the north . you mean that
 S29: - - - - - north north
 S27: [north north]
 S28: ecuador
 S29: venezuela
 175 S27: no
 S28: este in this country country i grows er coffee
 S27: (laughs) yes
 S28: yes . it's colombia
 S27: yes yes yes it is
 180 S28: colombia
 S29: OK
 S27: OK - so let's
 s'v: your names
 S27: OK right down F, R and I A . complete everything's com - so

- 185 then OK - two turns one se one more one more take one more
 S29: [/ ? /]
 S28: OK
 S27: I take one . OK . two turns OK , start asking questions
 we have to take two cards each
- 190 S29: [erm → →] what ah
 S28: [/ ? /] in what country in
 what continent this country situated
 S27: I'm not sure about the continent - it's not african continent
 S28: it's not africa
- 195 S27: no it isn't
 S28: [it's in] american perhaps i i south america
 S27: [yes it's a europa] er .
 continent europe continent
 S28: ah europe continent
- 200 S27: [european] continent
 S29: [european] what language
 S28: [what language] do they speak
 S27: spanish
 S28: spanish is er spanish is er spain
- 205 S27: [real spanish] yeah
 S28: er spain
 S27: the real the real spanish
 S29: real spanish
 S27: spain OK - you two go on . who is gone next / ? /
- 210 (laughs)
 S28: oh . ha - OK (laughs) I I don't know - go on try
 S27: [are] we going
 to guess , do you think
 S28: - I it a
- 215 S27: [OK] is this a big country
 S28: yes this is a big country
 S27: [very big] big country
 S28: very big OK , eh → it is
 S27: - uh . one of the → most largest country . in the world
- 220 S28: [in]
 S29: in
 S28: in the long , is one of the largest country in the world
 perhaps in the , into the tru the ten / ? /
 S27: [you mean] america
- 225 or eu or europe - america or europe
 S28: I think africa
 S27: africa - or asia - - no
 S29: [Asia africa → er a large er con
 S27: not africa india
- 230 S28: india of course (laughs)
 S27: [india] is a . big population - very big po
 like er like chi china
 S28: china
 S27: japan
- 235 S29: OK
 S28: what language do they → speak
 S29: er - - german
 S28: german oh → it's germany (laughs)

S27: [don't] look don't ask , about the
 240 language because it's too easy to guess german
 S28: (laughs)
 S29: but this is german
 S28: OK , continue continue with another→ card
 S27: . OK→ - - - OK . start it's go→ing gi→ve you a l→ot of work
 245 S28: [yeah]
 S29: that's a continent
 S28: [it's a] beautiful country
 S27: a beautiful country - very very very beautiful
 S29: [ah it's situated in america]
 250 or in europe north america
 S27: [not america in europe] in europe
 S28: [are there] many are there many
 beaches in this country
 S27: - - - - I'm not sure . I th' I tin so
 255 S29: are there / ? /
 S28: [are they este in] this country the weather , is cold , warm
 , hot
 S27: . uhm brn - I think most of the time not really hot most of
 the time but . it er winter time's ve→ry ve→ry cold
 260 S28: yes
 S29: [cold] . er I think that that country is→ , canada
 S27: . no canada
 S28: it's in europe
 S29: ahm
 265 S28: I don't remember
 S27: [er m→ nol europe
 S29: [north] america
 S28: [what did] you say
 S29: north america
 270 S27: [nol
 S28: north america it's - th' united states
 S27: no no it's t's not it's a b' a→ big country but er→m . they
 have ah→ - - maybe the→ the th' customs are→ , y'know are→
 erm kind of ah - - - mm - - - kind o→f difference between
 275 ah - - those , y'know those people who wear→ , skirts
 S29: OK but
 S27: 'n→ they take ah→ , y'know that famous sport - - which
 sounds mm - you know that special→ m
 S29: instrument
 280 S27: instrument . an' the men wear→ , skirts in . y'know mm
 your→ socks your long socks , long socks
 S29: got a→ . medicine in - - the right hand
 S27: mm→ some sports
 S29: - - but er eskimo
 285 S28: [this is]
 S27: no→ too far away
 S28: yeah e this country is in north america
 S27: oh er real north america m→ - - . no not called not close to
 it
 290 S28: it's not in america
 S29: excuse me . but I want to ask you - erm - that er - - that
 country . that is a country or a state

S27: aw no
 S29: [of] o-f the united states
 295 S27: no it's not a state - no , it's a
 S28: - I don't I don't know it it it→ isn't in north america I
 don't know I think that n→orth america . in - is eh→ are ,
 canada , united states
 S27: you all yer you see the - th' picture that comes on the→
 300 label of a - can . of milk in the street , very sweet milk .
 it comes a→ picture from→ from er it's a sweet milk , there
 was a special milk . that comes on . can , no come
 S29: OK
 S27: that er→ babies . when they're born - they drink
 305 S28: [holland] [hollland]
 S29: holanda
 S28: this . special one is it holland - holland
 S29: holland
 S28: i it must be . holland
 310 S27: oh you know the that part of the→ the mark where all the
 er→m thos→e . couyntries are
 S28: near holland near holland
 S29: [what language] what er what what language they
 are er speaking there
 315 S27: ah , they don't speak spanish they don't speak er→m -
 S28: english
 S27: I don't think they speak english
 S29: - - - - / ? /
 S27: - - - - no they don't speak english
 320 S28: [which finland] finland
 S29: australia . no
 S28: finland
 S27: australia / ? /
 S28: - finland - near to finland close to finland
 325 S27: close to finland . yeah
 S28: suecia
 S27: - close close very close
 S29: - swiss
 S27: . swiss . but , swiss , and something else swiss
 330 S28: switzerland
 S27: switzerland . switzerland they couldn't speak english I don't
 S29: [switzerland]
 S27: tink so switzerland
 S29: [switzerland]
 335 S28: they speak english they speak er spanish they speak e french
 I suppose I don't know . they speak
 S27: [switzerland] - swiss no
 S28: - ah swiss , they speak swiss
 S29: OK ask me
 340 S27: [ah the finlal one oh you do , OK
 S29: ask me erm→
 S27: don't / ? / please
 S29: OK
 S27: ah is this ah a small country
 345 S29: - but er I think that it's er→
 S27: small

- S29: a→ a long country
 S27: - a big country
 S29: a big
 350 S27: with a→ v→ery big population
 S29: yah
 S27: OK 's are they erm→
 S28: - they are black a black man men or→ . white men - - in
 what country this→ this country . in wha in what mm
 355 continent this country 's situated
 S29: - it's in er I suppose in europe
 S27: europe
 S29: europe
 S27: OK
 400 S28: what language , do they speak
 S29: well er english
 S28: english ah it's britain (laughs)
 S29: OK that's britain
 S28: (laughs) OK (laughs) no no
 405 S27: you've finished too
 S28: yeah you fi I finished . OK OK that's fine
 S27: just one more . two each some questions
 S28: [OK ask some] more questions
 from you
 410 S27: it's a country→ ah→ where
 S28: [it's] a special country special
 country
 S27: special what for why . why is it special
 S29: [it's]
 415 S28: [it's a . iseland] a big i no a not a
 big iseland it's an iseland
 S27: [hawaii]
 S28: n o - i t ' s a country
 S29: [but th it's in a ameri] it's a it's
 420 S27: [oh country it's] not an iseland
 you said an iseland
 S28: yah . it's→ in→ an iseland
 S29: but it's er near america or near europe
 S28: . I don't know
 425 S27: - do they have er do they have erm beaches
 S28: it's a a what
 S27: beaches . for
 S28: [yes] I suppose . it has beaches
 S29: that is . australia
 430 S28: no it's not . australia
 S27: it can be close to the pacific ocean
 S28: yeah
 S27: the pacific closer to the pacific or the atlantic
 S28:[I suppose . I'm not sure]
 435 ocean
 S28: the atlantic
 S27: I think . they are→ . panama
 S28: [no] not
 S29: corsic
 440 S28: the people is , the people . this country is erm very -

S27: [are they]
 S28: developed developed no
 S29: developed - but er→ what language er - they speak in that
 land / ? /
 445 S28: [what language] no (laughs) if I say . well . japane e
 S29: [I'm asking of course]
 S27: japanese . do they er speak japanese
 S28: yes
 S27: or chinese
 450 S28: japanese
 S27: japanese japan
 S28: yeah
 S29: [this is] er→ japan (laughs)
 S27: japan

End of recording

Group J

S32: I suppose - the→ card you have is a name of erm .
 nationality . erm→ - hm (laughs)
 S30: did you have do you heh you d'you have to ask the questions
 S33: [this is]
 5 S30: about it . or about him
 S33: [this is a a] guessing . exercise
 S32: yes
 S33: yeah where we→ we we have to guess your
 S30: [ah I ask you ques tions] questions . so
 10 - so as to→ try to guess - ah what country I have on my
 card
 S33: . yeah i w i i w country in in er america→ . in azia in er
 europe . where is
 S30: it's in america
 15 S33: it's in america
 S32: [in america] - south america or er north america
 S30: ah - - - it's -
 S33: you don't know where is your country
 S30: yes er
 20 S33: (laughs)
 S30: yes it's north america
 S33: is it north of canada
 S32: [north america] - - it's eh . ah (laughs) canada .
 mexico or the united states
 25 S30: - you have to . to tell me is it canada
 S33: ah yes
 S30: don't you
 S32: it's new york
 S33: erm
 30 S32: is its new york
 S30: no . you have to tell me the name of the country

S33: name of the country - or or maybe the→ the er - mm the
 customs er that you have er . the→ the oceans er maybe the
 places

35 S30: . OK ask

S33: mm - ah - your country ha→ has er - mm a lot of states

S30: a lot of states - mm . not so many but - they have states

S33: bu bu how many

S30: . oh I I don't know the number of states of this country

40 S33: [right]

S31: th' country has two oceans

S30: two oceans - ahm - I think so yes

S33: is i ah - mm

S32: this is ahm

45 S33: ah is it is it eh - is your country big - or small

S32: [this is eh]

S30: it's small

S33: small . ah . ooh ooooghaww ah is mexico your country

S30: yes it is . mexico

50 S32: [yaha] I see
 (20 seconds of card changing)

S30: ah . is your country . in→ , america

S32: yes

S31: - yes sin america

55 S30: [really] is it in north america

S32: - no

S33: - is it in→ - south america

S32: yes

S33: yes . actually

60 S30: yes a clue

S33: ah oh south of the ecuador

S32: - mm south . of the equator

S30: [south]

S33: south of the ecuador

65 S30: is it a lo→ng country

S33: - or a

S32: 's yes yes

S30: [aha] so w we have to choose between chile and
 argentina

70 S31: is it the pacific ocean or the atlantic ocean

S30: ['cause it's a long long -it means]

S31: - it's near

S32: [it's the] am - atlantic ocean

S33: ah is it - eh - it is eh . is it eh→ argentina

75 S30: / ? /

S32: no

S30: oh . no er argentina it - is in pacific ocean in atlantic
 ocean - so it's not a long country

S32: [argentina] yes it's a long

80 S33/31: / ? /

S30: ah I didn't say they . I said

S33/31: / ? / / ? / brazil

S32: oh yes (laughter)

S30: a chance

85 S33: OK

S30: is your country in africa
 S33: oh no (laughs)
 S32: asia - asia
 S33: no no
 90 S32: er is your - is your country american
 S33: no
 S30: / ? / ocean
 S32: europe
 S31: britain
 95 S32: europe
 S33: no
 S32: an' europe
 S30: australia
 S33: yes
 100 S32: yes europe
 S31: europe what
 S30: is your country in europe
 S33: yes / ? /
 S32: [yes it is] - is is+ french
 105 S33: - is french OK - 's france
 S30: [is it france france] it's right
 S33: but y you you have er+ to+ do+ . better questions tha+n than
 this
 S30: OK ah we guessed we guessed OK - - we'll try to make more
 110 questions about it OK
 S32: yes
 S30: before - guessing
 S32: OK
 S33: [take] one
 115 S30: just one OK any one
 S32: don't see don't see
 S30: is your country in australia
 S31: no
 S32: ah is your country in+ . africa
 120 S31: no
 S33: is your country in america
 S31: yes in america
 S33: yes
 S30: mm
 125 S31: there you are
 S32: 's in america , north or south
 S30: no we know Ok we have we know that it's in the south
 S31: [south]
 S33: south america
 130 S30: aah
 S33: - - is your country . big
 S31: - m . not large not big mm
 S30: it's little
 S31: mm
 135 S30: that's all it's little
 S32: all right
 S30: ah+ - i ah what language is in your country , what language
 do they speak do they speak spanish
 S31: they speak spanish

140 S30: oh well
 S32: only spanish
 S31: ah think that . english are speaking - a a little
 S32: [in school] a ye ,
 ah yes
 145 S33: - eh is is eh is your country near the pacific ocean or the
 atlantic ocean
 S31: near the pacific ocean
 S33: pacific ocean
 S32: ah yes yes ah yes it's a-
 150 S30: [is it] a hot . does it have - does it have
 a hot weather
 S31: no not a hot weather - sometimes - in some- seasons
 S30: is it peru it's near ecuador
 S31: [yel(laughs) OK
 155 S32: [yes]
 S30: aha- yes here we are
 S33: take one more
 S30: - OK vale
 S32: - - - - is your country- . in europe
 160 S30: . no
 S32: - in
 S33: what language , er . er- . eh- is spoken . in your country
 S30: spanish
 S33: spanish - it's not in europe . it's in . america
 165 S32: [spanish]
 S30: yes i , it's in america
 S32: it's in america
 S33: [OK] south america
 S31: south america
 170 S30: yes in sou south america
 S31: it's big your country
 S30: - big , no it's not big
 S33: near the pacific ocean
 S30: yes , near the pacific ocen
 175 S33: mm - er
 S32: [mm - in the - in the north - in the south
 S30: at the north
 S32: in sea / ? /
 S31: [pregunta ecuador]
 180 S33: (laughs) your
 S32: is your country ecuador
 S30: yes it is (laughs)
 S32: may I have the cards
 S33: [is is is your] country- . in america
 185 S32: - no no
 S30: OK is it in europe
 S32: mm yes-
 S30: aha
 S33: yes , in the north part or in the south part of . y'see is ye
 190 is your country in the north part of europe
 S32: no
 S31: no
 S30: in the south part

S32: - hm . ye+s (laughing)
 195 S33: in the south part of europe ahm . is your country near the
 mediterranean ocean
 S32: hm - nea+r
 S33: or i could be in the middle of the+ , europe -
 in the middle of th'europe
 200 S32: [at the middle of the europe] , no
 S30: what language do they speak . come on what language is
 spoken
 S32: (laughs)
 S30: tell me
 205 S32: (laughs)
 S33: portuguese
 S32: (laughs)
 S30: yes portugal
 S32: portugal
 210 S30: - - is your country in africa
 S33: yes
 S30: yes yupee africa
 S33: yes
 S31: mhm
 215 S30: ah is it i . at the north part of africa
 S33: yes at the north part of africa
 S32: aeeh it's near the mediterranean
 S33: yes
 S32: it's erm
 220 S30: are there many deserts there
 S33: in the north part of africa is all desert (laughs)
 S30: ah aha
 S32: - - - what do you think it's big
 S33: - I think so it's . it big .
 225 S31: is it really big
 S33: no-t too big
 S30: are there er famous pyramids there
 S33: ah you're thinking eg in - egypt yeah OK . it's egypt
 S30: [egypt] I
 230 didn't ask you . directly is it . egypt I just said there are
 very famous pyramids . OK
 S33: is your country in ah+ . europe
 S31: no not in europe
 S30: is it in africa
 235 S31: not in africa
 S32: [in] yeah . america
 S31: - it's not in america
 S30: erm in asia asia asia
 S33: [in asial]
 240 S31: [asial]
 S30: do they speak chinese
 S31: they don't speak chinese
 S32: japan
 S30: is it a long country
 245 S31: - small country
 S32: small country
 S33: [ah] smaller than peru

S30: [small country i t i t's] it's . smaller than peru
S33: is er . is this country an island
250 S31: yes it's
S33: aa-h (laughs) we are guessing what is this country
S32: we are
S33: is your country japan
S31: it is
255 S32: japan
S30: aha

End of recording

Exercise 3 'Complete the maps'

Group A

S1: what we have to do is . that we have to compare . no I think that we may start in this , order . from→ , number one . and→ letter A . choosing the→ left side of , the first square

S2: [informations]

5 S1: OK

S1: so

S2: OK what about map B

S1: [in this] i in→ in number

S'v: [say wh] who you are

10 S1: OK

S'v: we are C

S1: we are , yes we are group A . , C . . G . . and - . R . - OK , so were are going to start , discussing and comparing , from number one and the letter A , which is at the left side ,

15 of the paper , in this square , I can see , five woods and er→m - and a→ line which could be - - - - a road - . which could be a road

S2: where

S1: in the first er square - square number one which had , a a letter A at the left hand - . so , in→ number two I can see -

20 - - - - I can see a→ . also a road , a road - - - and in line three - a building - - - no , in the square . three I can see a building - - - - which is . intersected by a , road - - - in the square - number four - - - - I can also

25 see - - - . a railway - yes . it is a railway - - - - which is also intersected by a road - - in a square - five I can see a mill - mill - . in the upper part . of the square - and also a road (12 secs) and in the→ - - - - and in the - - - - and in the→ letter F in the squares that belong to the

30 letter F I can see the sea - - - - and - - - near the sea next to the sea there is marsh - - there's marsh there , and . sand beach and dunes - - next to the march . there - is a sand beach and dunes (11 secs) and next to the march - there is a built area - a built-up area 9 secs)

35 S2: yes

S1: - - . an' also - in the square which belongs to the letter . E there is a road crossing this , built-up area - - so what can you tell me about your map

S2: - K in map A - in map A erm - . at the . left side - . of number one an' letter A . there are no woods . K an→ square number 2 - . there is a→ -

40 S3: tunnel

S2: - a tunnel . in letter B . in letter B an' in square number three . letter A - there is a building . which is intercepted also by a road - K - - an' in the square number four letter A - there is also a road . K there is also a road . and there is a→ m - a ford

45 S1: all right

End of recording

Group B

(Activity already in progress)

- S4: OK - this some woods eh letter C in number five I have .
river - eh - - . bridge . river and bridge - er , letter
letter D at number one what do you have
- 5 S5: no no letter→ C number fiver I have er→ . the river , and a
bridge too
- S4: bridge and road - river
OK river . bridge and road , river bridge and road - - o ,
- S5: [bridge and road] [road]
- S4: OK letter C number six what do you have
- 10 S5: I have a→ river
S4: river
S5: bridge - an'
S4: [a] part of bridge
S5: a part of bridge
- 15 S4: OK continue na
S5: [an' erm - bluilt up area
S4: built up area
S5: aha
S4: OK - - leter D number one , I have - mm→ railway . road , a
20 part of bridge , a built-up area and . a piece of . of river
- what do you have in in letter D number one
S5: [I have] those roads
S4: what roads
S5: a part of erm→ built-up area
- 25 S4: OK
S5: a part of bridge - - - an+d part of river
S4: part of river OK - eh letter D on number three . what do you
have
S5: number two
- 30 S4: number two
S5: aha
S4: OK number two
S5: erm we have a→ .
S4: what do you have
- 35 S5: doad
S4: road
S5: mm built-up area
S4: built up area what else
S5: a river
- 40 S4: river
S5: part of bridge
S4: - . I have a part of bridge
S5: and . I have

End of recording

Group D

S11: OK - we can start with the roads - on our map
 S10: OK
 S9: ah you have six erm . six numbers
 S10: yeah with A B C to F
 5 S9: [and A B C to F] - right
 S11: OK
 S10: A one
 S9: A one A two . B one B two
 S12: OK
 10 S9: A one where do we start
 S10: (laughs)
 S11: A one we have some trees
 S9: five trees in fact
 S10: we don't have anything in A one
 15 S9: [so] you have to draw your map
 S10: - - - oh - do we need to add them
 S11: [you have] to complete
 S9: you have to give me your information - in order that I can
 20 finish my map . and . I will give you my information for you
 to finish yours but only one copy OK because the rest of the
 copies are for the other groups
 S10: OK . only one copy - so I'm going to complete this map
 S12: [so I'll look at yours]
 and you're going to help me only
 25 S12: right
 S10: aha
 S11: do I make a new one
 S9: no here / ? / th'instructions read they work with one map
 S11:[yes]
 30 and we work with the other
 S11: oh so we can w
 S10: so in square A one you have trees , only trees
 S9: [we have] a line . a
 curved line - like this
 35 S10: mhm
 S9: right . and er
 S11: it's like a little island to the corner
 S10: oh right
 S12: [right]
 40 S9: and then you have five trees
 S10: . on the
 S12: - the island
 S11: inside the island
 S12: the island
 45 S10: - - - five trees OK
 S11: maybe we can draw the . the roads first - the where the
 road goes . and do the other things . or we can go - block
 by block - - - which
 S12: if you do block by block - we're going to take . much time
 50 S9: mm longer
 S11: and 'nd we're going to talk about . many things at the same
 S9: [listen][first first]

time
 S12: right
 55 S11: so maybe we can start with that with the road - do you have roads
 S12: yes
 S10: [yes]
 S11: yeah we have roads
 60 S9: yeah OK that's OK but why don't we see the the→ small details first
 S10: right no
 S9: for example the tree→s - and there's one here
 S11: five A we have a→
 65 S9: [erm] [a mill] do you have a mill in five A
 S10: five A
 S12: five A
 S10: no . we don't have a
 S9: a mill at the→
 70 S11: at the right corner at the top
 S10: aha
 S11: so draw a mill there
 S10: up here a mill
 S9: mhm
 75 S12: / ? /
 S9: OK - - OK we have a→ a little rectangle - you know what it is . a buildings we have some buildings . in C→ four
 S10: mha
 S9: at the bottom no / ? /
 80 S12: [C four right]
 S10: [yeah]
 S11: and B one at the middle
 S12: at the top
 S10: [B one] in the middle there is a building
 85 S11: a rectangle
 S9: yes
 S11: there is a building
 S10: - OK
 S9: [buildings] . more or less in the middle a bit to the→ right
 90 S10: OK
 S9: and then in three A we have a rectangle
 S10: yes
 S9: but with a / ? /
 S11: and it's in the middle of a road
 95 S10: we also have another building . in→ B six
 S9: yes
 S11: yes
 S12: / ? /
 S9: in a→ in a built-up area - - - right
 100 S10: . the no , has not . here you don't have any built-up . area
 S12: [/ ? /]
 S11: OK the complete square is a built-up . eh area . you can write stripes . diagonal stripes
 S10: [the the] whole , the whole square is
 105 a

S9: no no no not the whole square , it's a part of , CA , I mean
 the bottom part of CA
 S10: of three A
 S9: six A
 110 S11: it also have the part of six A and some part of . six C -
 and some part of . si . five B
 S9: five B
 S11: so it's
 S9: it's like an island
 115 S11: almost round , like an island and it's built area
 S9: [like an island] S12:[built area]
 S10: OK . to the right or to the left
 S9: to the right one
 120 S10: OK so
 S12: / ? /
 S10: tell me if I'm right
 S9: no . you begin , to go , from the from the right , no to the
 S10: [/ ? / mhm] [six B]
 125 S9: left no
 S10: OK
 S9: part of six A
 S10: yes
 S9: then , a part , of er→ B five
 130 S12: B five
 S9: and a part the top part of er→ six C , but . the there's a
 S11:[six C]
 little I mean . corner . of er→ B six , which is not covered ,
 so that curved line mu , must leave a→ empty space no , in→
 135 S10:[ah] [OK]
 six B
 S11: in the left top corner from B six
 S10: OK
 S9: mhm
 140 S10: / ? / - - - - here we have another building in E six
 S11: E . six yeah . at the middle
 S10: [E six] . in . on the top of on that
 road , so , the road , above the road , and it's connected
 with the . to the , to the road . to , to the road . so
 145 / ? /
 S9: [yeah] - so it's a , vertical rectangle
 S10: yes
 S9: I mean the shorter sides are - at th top and at the bottom
 S10: mhm
 150 S9: OK
 S11: and it goes from the road to the line
 S10: from the road to the limit . of that square
 S11: yes - - isn't that
 S10: [the building] is connected to the road with a line
 155 that's all
 S9: [yeah] with two lines no to make the→ the building
 S10: [only one] only one
 S12: [only one]
 S9: but that's not a building there

160 S12: it has / ? / one
 S9: we just draw a line
 S11: but just a line
 S9: / ? /
 S11: do you mean it's a square rectangles
 165 S12: [no a rectangle]
 S10: it's clear it's a building we know because it's a buil it's a→
 square that is connected to a road by a→
 S9: so it's in the middle of the→ square or to the right or to
 the left
 170 S10: to the left of the top but .
 S11: yes
 S10: / ? /
 S9: ah so here
 S10: top to the left
 175 S9: so here
 S11: ah yes
 S9: mm so it's only one line on the / ? /
 S10: mm just like any . the .
 S9: just like the others like the one in B six
 180 S10: too which is clear / ? / and / ? / connected
 S9: so the left side of the square is following the building
 S10: n→ th the→ the building is there s so the rectangle is / ? /
 S9: [yeah but]
 you you told us to draw only one line and if it is a
 185 building it has to have two lines - two parallel lines - - -
 . you you told us
 S10: [right it's al it's a rectangle
 S9: yes
 S10: but , meh . it's a rectangle on the left top part of the
 190 square E six
 S9: yeh is it on the on on the corner on
 S12: yeah
 S11: [at the] corner itself
 S9: [on the] corner
 195 S10: next to the corner it's on the corner of the square but it's
 S9:[next to the corner]
 not on the same corner
 S9: but , the thing is , that you told us that there was a line .
 no
 200 S10: conecting it . to the road
 S9: [connecting] . the limit of the square , to
 the road
 S10: connecting . connecting . connecting the rectangle to the
 road - as . as you can see in B six
 205 S9: [no no no no no]
 S11: OK , but are there two parallel lines coming to this
 S9: [where's the] nono
 no no no
 S10: this is the rectangle
 210 S11: yeah where is
 S9: [where is] the rectangle / ? /
 S10: [on the left] top part of E six
 S11: what happened in the rectangle with er the→ four sides

S9: [the rectangle]

215 S9: yeah the building is on the road
 S10: on the road
 S9: yeah
 S10: here - on the left of
 S9: yeah

220 S10: here , like this , and there is a line connecting them mhm
 S9: that's all
 S10: / ? /
 S11: (6 secs) the line is connected to the→ the edge the edge of the→ square

225 S9: the the line is not connecting the road . with the . limit no the line is connecting the building with the limit
 S12: that's right
 S10: the line is connecting the road with the building . no with the limit . not with the limit

230 S9: (laughs) so the building is . on the road , that's what you told us
 S12: no . it's in the - it's above it's above the road
 S11: [top part]
 S9: on the line - on the limit

235 S10: it the / ? / ah where is the road for you (laughter) yes
 S9:[where is] (laughter)
 S11:[/ ? /]

there is another road

S9: the road more is more or less (laughs) in the middle it's crossing

240 S10: yes across the
 S12: [yeah]
 S9: it's not in the middle . it's crossing E six
 S10: yes . it's a little . on the top

245 S11: OK the rectangle is not on top of the road the rectangle is not on on→ touching the ah edges of the square
 S10: no
 S12: [mhm]
 S11: so it's . between the edge of the square and between the road

250 there's a rectangle
 S12: [right]
 S9: not / ? /
 S11: and this rectangle has a li→ ne that connects the rectangle
 S12:[a line that connects the road]

255 and the road
 S10: yes
 S9: but it's not on the road
 S12: no no it's not
 S11: OK it's like this

260 S9: so it's connected
 S11: it's like a sign with a→ stick
 S10: yes
 S9,11,12: (laughter)
 S9: OK . now in erm→ / ? /

265 S11: do you have another building
 S10: - - any→
 S12: s we have a building three A

S9: we have four buildings
 S10: three A
 270 S9: five buildings
 S10: one two three four five yes we too
 S12: [three four five]
 S9: five buildings OK that's it
 S10: we have a lot of trees in D six - -
 275 S9: do you have trees in D six
 S9: [trees in] no
 S11: no
 S12: it is surrounded by er→ . some , kind of island . that covers
 er→
 280 S9: yeah how what's the shape of the island
 S10: to the right
 S12: to the right
 S9: mhm
 S12: this covers the middle of the square
 285 S9: yes
 S10: [mhm]
 S11: yes
 S12: but not until the→ top
 S10: nor the→ bottom side of the square
 290 S12: [nor er the bottom]
 S11: it doesn't touch
 S12: no it doesn't touch
 S11: it's like a U
 S9: [does/ ? /]
 295 S12: right
 S10: [like] D
 S11: [like a C of C.
 S10: [like the] D
 S12: (laughs)
 300 S10: like a like a belly of a D
 S11,12. (laughter)
 S9: so it's not touching - - either side
 S12: erm→
 S11: so it's like a→ → like a D at the bottom
 305 S10: [as a D] like a D yes
 S9: and how many trees are there there
 S12: [and inside it] inside
 there→ there are three three trees
 S10: [three] three] three trees
 310 S9: three trees
 S11: tree threes (laughs)
 S9: OK (laughs)
 S12: so they have
 S9: - - OK - now - / ? /
 315 S10: yes
 S9: - the bottom part of F from the middle . to the bottom a→nd
 almost all erm F - two - F . four F five and half of F six
 we have
 S11: sea sea
 320 S10: it's the same as
 S9: you have sea

S12: [er→] right
 S9: and you have / ? /
 S11: - - - - - a finger (suppressed laughter)
 325 S9: and then
 S11: there's a
 S9: on→ er on the coast . no of . F . three . F three
 S10: [F]
 S12: F three there are marsh
 330 S9: we have some ,
 S10: marsh
 S11: marsh
 S12: marsh
 S10: OK
 335 S12: right
 S9: yes
 S11: and at the top part of F six we have some cliff
 S10: y→es cliff
 S11: [and] in the top part of F one . we also have cliff
 340 S9: and part of F two no
 S10: [and trees]
 S11: no we don't have trees
 S9: [how] many trees do you have
 S12: four
 345 S10: [four] trees - going along the→ shore but - they're together
 S9: [mm]
 S10: keeps keeping us . a little space to the→ to the left
 S9: mhm
 350 S10: and then the four trees going along the shore - just up
 to the square
 S12: [finishes finishing the square
 S9: for what's this line
 S10: this - line must be er→
 355 S9: OK . so . er on the coast of
 S12: / ? /
 S9: E four - on the coast of E four - er not all of it - almost
 S10: [mhm]
 half of it .
 360 S10: m
 S9: and half of F . er E five we have sand beach and - .
 S10: [F] sand
 beach and dunes . OK dots . lots of dots
 S11: (6 secs) but just bordering ah
 365 S10: OK
 S11: not all the→ square
 S9: more or less half a centimetre . wide
 S10: mhm - - - mhm
 S11: . do you have trees - in→ B four
 370 S10: B four yes five
 S12: [B four yes]
 S9: yes
 S10: we have B three four five and→ C four
 S9: [five] [and part] of C four

375 S12: [/ ? /] how
 many do you have
 S9: [ooh er] lots two four six eight ten twelve thirteen
 S12: [two four six eight ten twelve thirteen
 S11: [d'you have a]
 380 S9: fourteen fifteen sixteen seventeen
 S11: [do you have a tunnel]
 S10: mm
 S11: a tunnel
 S9: a tunnel connecting - almost in the middle of er B - four
 385 S11:[four]
 do you have er -
 S10: a tunnel
 S11: yes
 S10: you've got a tunnel
 390 S9,11: yes
 S10: a tunnel - m-n
 S9: two lines huh
 S10: yes two lines and a cross now - yes
 S9: a double line
 395 S10: yes / ? /
 S9: mm now we have another built-area - built-up area
 S10: where is it
 S9: it's on erm
 S11: D two two D two
 400 S10: [D two D two and] also you can see it
 in D one D two D three E one OK
 S11: [y-yes yes yes yes]
 S9: now but let's go to the roads I think we're going to
 S12: do you have railway at - c close in
 405 S9: a railway
 S11: we don't have railways
 S9: OK which / ? / the railway
 S11: where is the railway
 S12: eh it's touching the road in - E - . two -
 410 S10: to the right
 S12: to the right - and - goes . to the left
 S11: [E two] [from]
 S10: [yes] it is from the
 seaside there is something like a river right
 415 S11: yes
 S12: right
 S10: because it is there is an influx to the sea so it's supposed
 to be a river right
 S11,9: yes
 420 S12: [OK]
 S10: so to the right of the river on the road next . to the top
 S12: to the right top
 S10: mm there is a / ? /
 S12: [it goes to the -] top of - D - it D -
 425 S10: across . there is a cross a bridge - 'n then you get across
 in D - one and two , because there is a bridge in the limit
 S9: [oh I see in]
 the limit

S10,12: yes
 430 S9: it's a bridge
 S10: OK
 S9: so . the→ the rai→
 S10: [the railway goes] a . cross the bridge
 S12: - erm
 435 S11: [from] - . E two to D two
 S10: mhm crossing the bridge and also . to the left
 S12: [right] straight to
 the left
 S10: [to] the left
 440 S9: from B two the left part the left side of B two
 S10: right . to the left part
 S9: it's a straight line
 S11: - . no er the right side of the river
 S12: [no no]
 445 S9: yes to the right side of the
 S11: [the bridge] doesn't pass er down the river
 S10: [yes]
 mhm
 S9: so it goes along the river - more or less
 450 S10: we'll it goes along the river . yes . from the bridge -
 S12:[around]
 and it
 S12:[it gel
 S11: so the bridge goes on top of the→ river
 455 S10: - - the bridge is in D between one and two
 S9: yeah it's the same thing . so it's just the passage / ? /
 S10: mhm
 S11: so it goes like this
 S10: and it goes towards the left side in a horizontal way
 460 S9: it goes what
 S10: to the left . up to the→ up to the→ . to the limit of the
 square D one
 S9: . in D one to the left limit
 S10: to the left limit . in a horizontal . erm . sense . in a
 465 S12: [yes]
 S10: horizontal way
 S9: up to the limit
 S11: up to the limit an' and it stops there
 S10: [yes up to the limit] yes yes/ ? /
 470 S11: [because ? /]
 because the map finishes
 S11: and the rails it only has this . erm do you have another
 railway
 S10: another . railway - n→o there isn't
 475 S12: [the maybel m m ss
 S10: - we had some there isn't much
 S12: there's this spot
 S11: / ? /
 S10: I think it's on this spot . do you have a spot on E two
 480 S9: ye→s a dark line it's - like a finger
 S10:[dark line]
 S12: (laughter)

S9: yeah . now - let's describe the roads / ? /
 S10: [yes] it doesn't seem
 485 S9: to→ OK ah this / ? / this is the river right
 S9: yeah (coughs) well we have now . let's go on with the roads
 S11: OK
 S9: we have the a road beginning in er E one no
 S11: [E one] on the left
 490 side of E one
 S10: OK (laughs)
 S9: yes it goes all along the→ E two E three no . well if it
 starts
 S11: [horizontally to the left
 495 S10: [horizontally to the right
 up to - E six
 S11: [arrive to - E six]
 S12: right
 S10: yes crossing all the map
 500 S9: yes
 S11: yes
 S9: now we have another road which begins in il E six and goes
 S12: at the right
 S9: [from] from the middle of E six it goes up . in a
 505 straight line up to the middle of B - . no E one - E one
 S10: [E five]
 S12: [no]
 S11: [no - E one]
 from the same
 510 S10: ah . E one
 S11: from the same road w→e start
 S10: yes yes vertically
 S9: [last one] - up to B one
 S11: [verti] - to B one to the building
 515 S10: [vertically]
 S9,11: yes
 S10: OK
 S12: touching another road
 S10: touchin another road
 520 S11: [near the] . touchin another road and also
 passing the road . and connecting it with the building
 S10: [connecting it t th building]
 ah OK w w we were missing that
 S9: . now there was another road
 525 S10: mhm
 S9: - so in the middle of B one there is a . a building
 S12: - right put this in
 S10: [yeah]
 S11: yeah
 530 S9: so the road finishes an+d touches the building
 S11: OK there is another road at B one
 S9: L let's finish with this one
 S11: [OK] let's finish D one . at the
 middle of D one
 535 S10: yes

S11: from this vertical road . we have another road that it's
 almost like a semicircle going around . the buildings
 S10: - crossing the bridge
 S11: crossing the bridge
 540 S10: yes
 S11: and going around the buildings . and finishes on E three on
 the road
 S10: yes / ? /
 S12: [yes]
 545 S9: [/ ? /]
 S11: OK
 S9: now in→ er E five . we have another road - - E five
 S10: mm
 S9: it begins E five it's vertical and then at B four at D
 550 S11: [it's vertical]
 S9: five it goes to the→ right - and
 S11: crosses the bridge
 S9: and 1 it goes exactly on the limit
 S10: ye→s
 555 S9: and then crosses the bridge and in B→ six it passes through
 the→ built-up area
 S11: [buildings]
 S10: mm
 S9: up to→ five up to the limit of five A - the outer limit of
 560 five A - no but / ? /
 S11: [. borderling the mill
 S9: . bordering the mill you have a mill
 S10: [. O K sol it goes - . straight up
 S9: - no . it passes the built-up area
 565 S10: OK
 S11: right
 S9: and at six A , it makes a corner / ? / a corner
 S11: [it turns just the corner] of six A
 S12: all right
 570 S9: all right
 S11: like an arrow
 S9: / ? /
 S10: an arrow
 (Interruption while tape is turned over)
 575 S9: here we are again
 S11: continuing the group D
 S10: the road was . from B - six
 S9: the road was , I mean . crossing
 S11: the bridge
 580 S9: [going] through the→ → →
 S12: [the built] up area
 S9: bridge the built-up area leaving an angle . the→ left side
 angle . of er→ . six A . and then it was bordering the mill
 S11: [six A]
 585 S10: . OK
 S12: [right]
 S11: to the left left left
 S10: [t the] left
 S11: and then when you get to five A almost to the→ → → left

590 S9.[upper part]
 corner you turn to the , top part
 S10: OK
 S11: and you go up to the top part
 S10: OK
 595 S9: [so] it's more or less what ha half a centimetre from the→
 S11: from the corner
 S9: OK limit
 S10: . it's connected only it's 't's connected the
 S9: with another road
 600 S10: with another road . the one that started in B one
 S11: [yes] yes yes
 S9: [oh]
 then you have that road then
 S10: OK and you have that road
 605 S9: and we have a bridge in B - on the river . what we suppose
 is the river
 S10: yes
 S9: on B→ two
 S11,12: B two
 610 S10: B two
 S9: yes we
 S11: and er→ . the road is passing the the→
 S12: [/ ?]
 S9: river
 615 S11: the - no
 S9: the river
 S11: [thel bridge / ? /
 S10: the road is close to the brisge . yes , do you have another
 bridge in A four
 620 S11: yes yes
 S10: another bridge on C→ five and six
 S12: do you have in B four
 S9: [yes in] the middle yes
 S10: they you , so this , in B four this is not a tunnel but a
 625 bridge
 S9: - in D four
 S11: yes
 S10: B B B four
 S9: B four we don't have a bridge there
 630 S10: isn't there a bridge
 S11: [yes there] is a bridge
 S9: it's a bridge
 S11: between the→ the trees do you have a path . between the
 S10:[yes mm woods]
 635 building on C four and the road
 S10: yes
 S11: and E→
 S10: E four
 S11: E four
 640 S10: yes
 S9: [mhm]
 S12: mhm
 S10: [wel have it

S11: OK so I think we have these these these -
 645 S10: yeah / ? /
 S11: maybe - we gave all the information to you
 . all the information we have
 S10: [yes] that's all
 S9: [er let's] see what's the
 650 next step
 S11: do you , have you given all your information
 S12: we did
 S10: [we have] er there's a buildi-ng building→ built-up area in C
 one do you have it
 655 S9: yes , no C C one no
 S10: C one
 S9: no
 S10: OK there is a build up area
 S12: to
 660 S10: that starts like a semicircle also like a belly of a D
 S9: mhm
 S10: that starts on the bottom part of C one
 S9: touching the limit
 S10: touching the limit just touching the limit just touching the
 665 limit then it goes
 S9: . passing the road
 S10: no
 S12: no no
 S10: no no 1
 670 S9: before the road
 S10: before the road
 S12: doesn't touch the road
 S10: doesn't touch the road
 S9: it doesn't it doesn't touch the other limit
 675 S10: - . yes and also touches a little part of B one too , and
 S12:[it is and passes]
 then finishes
 S9: yeah , do you have anything in the
 S12: [without without] touching the road B
 680 S10: yes without quite touching the road there
 S9: yes do you have a→ it's just a built-up area or do you have
 a a building there
 S10: no built-up area
 S11: - - with d-iagonal stripes
 685 S10: yes
 S9: what else do you have
 S10: a built-up area that goes through E one two D one two three
 S9: [do]
 you have a river that goes from - - well our river -
 690 starting from A two
 S10: mhm
 S9: the limit of A two
 S10: mm
 S9: at the top . you have a . a river that goes all er→ down
 695 S11:[down]
 down A two then it touches a bit of B two an-d
 crosses the bridge . and then it goes to - B three

S11:[crosses the bridge]

S10: right

700 S9: and . it goes to - B four and then to C five and then to C six - that's all . do you have any do you have anything in
S10:[yes] [/ ? /]
six two and three

S12: six two

705 S10: - - two and three - we have the river
S9: uhu
S10: and also the building
S9: where is the building
S11: building in six two and six three

710 S9: excuse me in six two and three
S10: no - / ? / letter but what letter
S9: C two ah C two and C three
S11: [six] [C two]
S10: [C two three] no only the river

715 S12: [C] [no]
S9: oh O K
S11: [no . we don't] have a river there
S10: . we have (laugh) OK there is the river . that it has , has started in A two right

720 S12: [two] / ? / B two it has a bridge
S11:[yes]
S10: [B two → → → →]
crosses D B two three→

S11: [we have th the] river at B3

725 S12: [B three] right
S10: [O K] . and it finishes
above the wood
S9: it finishes in front
S10: well / ? / through the river . because he the river
730 there . is erm→ - just making like a an / ? / - OK
because→ , the part is divided in two parts
S11: yes
S10: OK . so the river continues by the west part
S12: just in the→ / ? /

735 S11: [does it flows down to C three] the river goes
down to C three and turns around at the third
S10: in D four
S11: D one
S10: [D] one mhm right

740 S12: [right]
S9: it finishes in D one yes it combines with the river in D
S11:[it finishes in D one]
one
S10: yes

745 S9: in D one and two
S10: [in] D→ one and two ok
S11: and it connects with a bridge there or a→ what is it
S12:[a bridge]
it's a→ . a bridge yes it's a bridge

750 S12:[a tunnell]
S9: well to connect the river

S10: [a tunnel a bridge]
 S12: well you've got a river in C - C five
 S9: aha
 755 S12: do you have a river in C five
 S9: a river in C five yes in six six also
 S10: yes we have too in C six
 S9: er what else do you have trees buildings erm
 S10: I think that we have to n to
 760 S12: you have cliff in→
 S10: yes they have
 S9: in F
 S10: A
 S12: F six
 765 S9: [in] F A F one and F six / ? / it's
 S11: [I think it's all over]
 S10: yes / ? /
 S9: ah let's now let's suppose it says remember do not look at
 the other map at the end take your completed no→ no listen
 770 S11:[/ ? /]
 S10: map away with you OK you take the map
 S12: right

End of recording

Group B

S15: well er I suppose then . er complete , here , in different -
 - groups , mm
 S13: what I suppose that we have to do is complete . OK . so ,
 what I have first is . at the left corner
 5 S15: yeah
 S13: at the top left corner - number one and A
 S14: mm
 S13: I have . a group of - five trees
 S15: - (cough) I don't have er→ . five trees . in dat that square .
 10 square A1
 S13: mm
 S15: no I don't have
 S13: you don't have that
 S15: [I don't] have anythings
 15 S13: mm
 S15: - - there
 S14: I think I have some trees - in the , square , D , 6
 S13: , in square D6
 S14: yes , that's at . at the right of the picture
 20 S13: - D , 6
 S14: yes
 S13: you have some -
 S14: - trees . three trees
 S13: mm , aha
 25 S14: [I] have three trees (7 secs) I think we should
 describe . square by square (laughs)

S13: square no I think that's . those . tha that's the main thing
we have to

S15: square by

30 S13: square by square

S14: because it is index some er . some letters and numbers

S15: [in square]

in square→ mm

S14: OK s let's begin from the top . begin from the top

35 S13: [yes] from

the top we have . one A er I have - a group of five - trees

S14: I don't have anything

S13: you have - you→ miss the trees you don't have the trees

S15: no . don't have

40 S13: [/ ? /] you don't have the . those trees then i→n

--

S14: square A two

S13: [square two .] A two I have - I suppose a road but here
is says . that it's not a road I suppose . it's a road

45 S15:[it's]

. mm→ maybe it's not because if you observe in the key the
road are just a black - l→ine

S14: a a a black . yes this is a / ? / line

S13: what I have is a . a bridge . maybe it's i it's a bridge wha

50 w what we have . here

S15: mhm

S13: yes - you see

S14: [a bridge no] a bridge is - hm

S13: I suppose it's a river . so . here is a bridge

55 S15: mhm

S13: because if you observe

S14: [yes] / ? /yes

S13: yes

S14: it's a river

60 S13: maybe it's a river

S14: aha

S13: yes - or a channel

S14: - yes

S13: - anything . then - in→ square A three . I have - . a→hm a
road that comes from square - . one B - continues crossing .

65 two B

S14: yes

S13: and then goes up , to . square B , and then I have ar→m .

S14: [that's right]

70 S13: I suppose I have a building because it's . it's a

S14: [it's a building]

S15: [a building]

S14: [yes] it is . it's a building - - erm

S13: [yes] [yes] a building , then it

75 continues

S14: continues . through ah→ sq1 square

S13: goes on a bit

S14: [four] D

S13: four A

80 S14: yes

S13: . what do you have ah→ . J - in square four A
 S15: [mhm] four - four A
 S13: yes
 S15: four A , there is here a river
 85 S13: there's a river
 S15: there's here a river
 S13: aha
 S14: there's a river yes there's a→ river . coming from the top
 aha
 90 S15: yes erm→ . there is a road
 S14: a road crossing the river
 S15: [road / ? /]
 S13: so you have a bridge another
 bridge
 95 S15: yes bridge - five / ? /
 S13: [ah] [aha] what else
 do you have in square five A
 S14: in five A the the road's→ going . up north
 S13: mm
 100 S14: it's going to the top of the / ? /
 S13: [it goes] just up north
 S14: and it ends and it ends yes
 S15: [yes]
 S13: and it ends there
 105 S14: it ends there . it doesn't .
 S13: it doesn
 S14: doesn't go any . where else
 S13: aha in mine I have . there . the same road
 S14: yeh
 110 S13: that goes , to the north , and then to the south again
 S14: / ? ? yes
 S13: aha and I have a nother thing . I have a mill . in→ square
 five A
 S14: ja I have no no
 115 S15: [/ ? / no] where is it
 S13: [/ ? /] there that's another
 difference in square six A six what do you have in square A
 S14.[square A six]
 S15:[nothing]
 120 six . nothing
 S14: nothing
 S13: I have a bit of the road that went to the south - and I
 have a piece of - - it's su it is supposed to be . part of
 the built-up area
 125 S15: build up area
 S13: [yes] - so . in→ - - square -
 S15: B
 S13: B one what do you have
 S15: B one
 130 S13: mhm
 S15: the road - in the south / ? /
 S13: aha
 S15: in roads
 S13: no in B one only

135 S15: B one
 S13: B one only
 S13: [B one] [/ ? /lin in B one there is a road
 S15: [a] road
 S14: coming from the west
 140 S13: coming from the west
 S15: [coming] from the west
 S14: [yes coming] from the west
 S13: and then it continues to→
 S14.[continues]
 145 S15: continue across
 S13: [to three A I] think
 S14: to the→ - well but from square B . B one - it goes to square
 B two
 S13: mhm
 150 S14: until until the bridge
 S13: mhm
 S14: over the bridge
 S13: mhm
 S14: over the bridge - and - - it ends . or it continues
 155 S13: mm
 S14: until→ square A three
 S13: mhm
 S14: where there is a building A
 S13: [mhm] OK
 160 S14: right
 S13: in square B three what do you have
 S14: oh wait wait in er but er in same square B one
 S13: yes
 S14: there is also ah→ . a fork - on the road that's . the road
 165 comes from the west - and - before it . before it , it goes
 south . the square B one . it turns t' the→ right . it has a
 S13: [mhm]
 S14: fork to the right
 S13: a fork
 170 S14: yes , to the right - - so the road is , coming from the west
 . and before , it , enters . square B two
 S13: mhm
 S14: it turns right
 S13: it turns right , yes
 175 S14: there is another road / ? /
 S13: [yes] yes that goes to the south
 S14: goes to the south
 S13: and crosses almost square C - one CD -one
 S14: [CD] yeah . C one D one
 180 S13: [aha and]
 finishes in square -
 S14: E one
 S13: E one
 S14: yes
 185 S13: going to the west again
 S14: [going] to the west / ? / right
 S13: [aha so that's] the
 same road

S14: all right
 190 S13: mhm
 S14: in square B two that's already described square - square B three , square B three
 S13: mhm
 S14: in square B three we have the→ the river or stream - that
 195 which is coming from - from er→ from square eh→ , A two
 S13: mhm
 S14: yes . and have a→ . a couple of trees - a couple of trees
 S13: you just have a couple of trees also , J
 S15: . si yes
 200 S14: a couple of trees
 S13: in square B three
 S14: yes , within square B three
 S15: square B three and four
 S13: do the square er I mean do the trees . er that start in→
 205 square , B three continue , in square , B four and five
 S15: [B four and five and] five m B
 er yes
 S13: and what do you have in square B five
 S15: five I have woods and a river crossing / ?/
 210 S13: where does the river , go
 S15: crosses the woods
 S13: crosses the wood
 S15: crosses the wood
 S13: and then
 215 S15: and then to south the south / ?/
 S13: [goes to the south]
 S13: I'm not sure if it is a bridge or not
 S15: a bridge
 S14: must be a bridge . it must be a bridge because , a road's
 220 coming from the→
 S13: mhm
 S14: from the north . and the road is going over the bridge . and continues to the . to the south

End of recording

Group F

S16: OK map A - one A - it is a blank
 S17: . in map B we have five strees , in / ? /
 S16: - OK . no two A . there is a road a wide road
 S17: [mhm] yes
 5 S16: i→n - three A - there→ is→ a→ building , n a couple of roads
 - going through it
 S17: [going] yes
 S16: in→ four A . there is a big road - there is a bridge . an' a road coming on it
 10 S17: , yes
 S16: in five A . at the top . er left side there is a piece of road and in six A a blank

S17: [(laughs)] wait wait in five there is a - .
 mill - how d' you say

15 S16: yes a mill
 S17: mhm . and six there is a little piece of - - built-up area
 S16: . OK - now
 S17: one B there is a→ building with two→ roads crossing
 S16: . no we have er crossing roads but we do not have the
 20 building
 S17: the building is at the end of the - vertical . road
 S16: - no we don't have the building we have a little piece of
 built-up area
 (s/v: instructs group to fill in details on their sheets)

25 S16: OK now
 S18: two B
 S17: - two B - eh a road two roads one wide and one - very small
 S16: the same
 S17: - - with a bridge - in between

30 S16: . yes
 S17: - - B eh three B . there is a→ - a little park . woods . with
 a road going . beside it
 S16: yes
 S17: four B - . trees . ah→ road with a bridge - . five B .

35 another piece of - . built-up area - completed s eh→ six A .
 trees r an' a road - an' on→ six B , there is the rest of
 the→ - built-up area . a road - an' a little building
 S16: . OK
 S17: mhm

40 S16: now in→ one C - there is er→ - half of the square - is a
 build-up area
 S17: mm
 S16: 'n there is a road - going up to , to→ one B - now in two→ C
 - there is a wide road . at the bottom of the square - an→

45 three C the same road is coming up
 S17: three C - up to→ three - . to→
 S16: up to three B
 S17: all right
 S16: . now in four , C→ - - there are the→ - there are some trees

50 S17: mhm
 S16: an' at the bottom there is a building
 S17: mhm
 S16: eh→ and there is a beginning of path - . now in→ fifth C
 S17: - , mm

55 S16: the same wide road - , a→ bridge - in a road crossing a
 bridge (clears throat) an' in six C - is→ the end of the like
 a
 S17: all right - one B . there are - there is one road . go going
 into→ two pieces - an' a little bi er bit of - built-up area
 60 - , two D - built-up area with the road
 S16: [now so we] have er in one D
 we also have a railway - . yes . going with
 S17: [crossing]
 S16: crossing the bridge the same as the road . as the
 65 black road

- S17: [ah] . all right - . in→ - - three th three D . there
is a road in the middle of the square - . a→ little piece of
, built-up area - , four D - . a path - that connects one
road that is below with a building 'n top of it - five D . a
road and six D is in blank
- 70 S16: . six what
S17: . D
S16: - , yeah
S17: [six D] is in blank
- 75 S16: [six] D we have three trees . at the
right side of the→ square
S17: . mhm - three trees no
S16: . yes
S17: mhm
- 80 S16: three trees
S17: three trees - . all right let's
S16: - - - now it's my turn isn't it
S17: mhm
S16: now in one E , we have a road . that is er . , that has two
branches . one up . and on to→ two E . , in two E we also
have a built-up area . , an+d the sea
- 85 S17: mhm
S16: erm→ there is also a road - seems to be a road coming out of
the sea - and in three E we have er→ the end of this build-
up area - er - . and also a road
- 90 S17: - - mhm
S16: . now in fourth E . we have at the→ top the road . , and the
piece of path - , an+d at the
S17: [heh] . we have there some . sand
- 95 S16: beach and dunes in . , four E
ny→eah - - , / ? / now in fifth E . we have - a piece of
sea shore - and . the road . , narrow road going up . ,
coming up to this main road
S17: mhm there is a continuation of the sand beach and dunes
- 100 S16: . a→ha - we can see that
S17: [which is like er→] the shore
S16: yeah . , and then in six E . we have . er→ . the same main
road . with a little→ road going to the building
S17: erm - all right - - . , one F we have the sea - cliffs - .
erm . cliff yes . 'ts . two F is all er sea - , three F - erm→
marsh with under
- 105 S19: sea
S17: 'n sea
S19: [sea]
- 110 S17: - , four F sea . , five F sea
S16: er w wait a minute
S17: and the little corner i the corner on top of it . on the
right side we have . cliff
S16: . yeah
- 115 S17: and six F - cliff and sea
S16: - now will you please tell me what you have in three F
S17: . , three F
S16: yes
S17: - . , cliffs . , and sea

120 S16: . now we also have er marshes huh - . / ? /
 S17: [marshes] [oh] sorry that's
 not a cliff marsh marsh that's right
 S16: [ah ye-s] OK
 S17: mhm
 125 S16: thank you
 S17: that's all

End of recording

Group G

S22: OK . so - we have . two maps
 S20: - yes
 S22: R and
 5 S20: R and M in→ one part an→d L is in the other part - so→ we're
 going to start describing a map from the upper part . and
 following the→ the numbers - the numbers - the numbers are
 for each erm→ - - . square - one through six erm→ - - in a
 horizontal l→ine and in a vertical line from A B C D . an' F
 10 so we're going to 'scribe first - A one - we have nothing
 there
 S22: - square A one nothing - what do you have in
 S21: in in this map . in square 1 l→ A and one - there is a woods
 - - five woods - . in the→ - . farm - . in the far,
 S20: - . yeah
 15 S22: we don't have a→
 S20: in the farm where is the farm
 S21: - er - field s .
 S20: it's a field right
 S22: oh in that square we have nothing
 20 S21: - . in→ in the second square . eh letter A . we have . two
 lines . like river
 S22: - yes we have two lines too - two line too two lines - in
 this square
 S20: in third square
 25 S21: - . in the third square n→ letter A we have . a building .
 and a road
 S22: yes , we have a building too
 S20: yes
 S22: and er roads crossing
 30 S21: in the→ - fourth square . we have . eh - - two lines , like
 a river , and a toonel , and a toonel
 S20: 'n our part
 S21: n / ? / in a bridge
 S22: it's a bridge it's a bridge
 35 S21: [it's] a bridge
 S20: yeah , we have a bridge too
 S21: aha in the fifeth square we have - a→ mill . an→d a road
 S22: - . we have in fiveth square a road - . but not a mill
 S20: ['n not a mill] -
 40 picture eh square six

S21: in square six we have - - - - - we have build-up area
 S20: - build-up area
 S22: yeah square six we have a - a short build-up area
 S20: - - - - - er so we are going to do
 45 S22: the line B square one - . line B square one wha do you have
 S21: in the in the letter B 1 square one , we have a building an-d
 a road
 S22: a building . what else
 S21: and a road
 50 S22: - - one road just one road
 S21: there is there is two roads . one road is , eh - - - cross
 . another road
 S22: - - yeah
 S20: 'n we have here a very small area mm→ . built-up area
 55 S21: - in the second square . eh we have
 S22: - - - - - in the second square
 S20: . we have a road . and something like a river with er
 S22: - - a bridge it's a bridge
 S20: 's a bridge
 60 S22: yes
 S21: and the road , goes , upwards - where's , the bridge it's the
 second square , you have a bridge . an . and then
 S22: . it's a ford
 S21: mhm
 65 S22: it's not a bridge it's a ford / ? / - - it's a ford . in the
 second square , we have a ford . eh crossing a road -
 crossing a road
 S20: . in the - and the third square letter B we have some→ ,
 woods
 70 S22: - - - we have woods - - woods and we have erm a little erm
 . a piece of road - . a piece of road and - - - erm
 S21: - - - - - in the four - in the third square I have as . wood
 too . an-d - li an' like a river - - . an' something like a
 river
 75 S20: in the fourth square I can see we have woods . something
 like a river , with er - - / ? / in the picture , and
 more woods in the other side of the river
 S21: mhm
 S20: going into - letter C square four
 80 S21: in the fourth picture we have er , m a lot of woods too and
 something like a river with erm→ - - bridge - - no - - - -
 - - in the fifeth square . we have . erm . bits of woods -
 erm - around the→ . the big woods - pass . a l something
 like a river
 85 S20: and in the sixth square letter B we have a→ road - going
 upwards . and ending in a building
 S21: - . in sixth square we have a road too . and a building -
 and a built-up area
 S22: - OK now in the→ - line C picture - line C er square one .
 90 er we have a . built-up area , a big buid-up area , crossing
 a road
 S21: - - - in the→ , square one letter C , we have a big area too
 , and a road like - going up
 S20: - - . this square is erm . blank . with a road in a bend -

95 this square is . with a road in a . curve , going up - n a fourth is - - first part of woods - . and in the lower part there is a building - - the fifth square - . has a road - coming from the fourth square letter B and downwards - . to the right - erm there is a

100 S22: a bridge
S20: bridge - - - and continues the road - - - / ? / - now
s22:(mhm)
. letter eh tunnel

S22: [/ ? /] - now line D six eh square one . we
105 have a road a railroad railway
S20: railway
S22: a road , and a bridge - a bridge - which is connected to the - to the other square
S21: . in the square one letter D I have a road too , and a bridge
110 , and a big . building area . and a big river - in the second square I have ah . a big river . and build-up area . and , a road that cross - ehm . I think , the third square
S20: - - . we have a railroad er w we have a railroad
S22: . you don't have
115 S21: no
S20: you have to put a railroad from - square . one letter D . in the upper part . going through - square two , going downwards
S22: - so the railway cross the . square one line D . and square
120 two , line D - now - . square three . line D . we have . eh - . the . part of the build-up area . 'nd the road crossing , the road is crossing
S21: in the square itself we have ahm . a built eh . - up area and the road . cross - - . to a square . third in letter E
125 S22: so we have the same
S21: yes
S22: we do
S20: in square four we have a part
S21: - in square four we . I have - a path too
130 S22: yes
S20: in square five er a . / ? / and we have a road going up
S22: mhm
S20: in square six we have er
S22: woods
S20: woods
135 S21: - 'n in square five I have a road too . an' in square six . eh we have / ? /
S20: we have three woods , in square six
S22: yes
S20: then . letter E
140 S22: - letter E line eh . square one . we have a road . and a bit of built-up area . two roads
S20: . an' we have erm li , part of a sea - in square two
S21: . in square one letter F . we have a rail . way and sea , part of the sea - . an in er square two letter F we have . eh
145 all the square is sea - - . and square , third letter F we have part of the sea . and - - marsh - an' marsh
S22: an' marsh - marsh - . in all the line F we have the sea too

S20: - - - four five an' six we have sea an' in . square six we
have - - - . cliff
150 S21: - in the square four an' five . eh I have sea , all the part
is sea an-d square six - / ? / we have part of the sea .
an' ar . rail . an a cliff
S20: that's it
S22: that's all

End of recording

Group J

S30: do we have to describe map
S33: . yes
S30: first
S33: you've got
5 S30: we've got . a map - - . in A one . there is anything - it's .
, there is nothing in A one
S33: . yes
S30: square A one . in A two . there is there the river
S32: - like a river . , like erm-
10 S30: 'n it cross , the river crosses - A two
S33: [A] , sorry in in- the
square . , A one - there is a- . a line , with eh- trees ,
with five trees
S30: . a line
15 S33: , si - - . A one
S30: , A one a line but a- - line
S33: [yes] [it's a it's al it's a line er- m- . eh
beginning in the - - - . below below the- the square - in
the - , on the- bottom - . eh left corner
20 S32: - - - . / ? /
S33: . , going to the right - increasing . , to up - - . , in the-
. on the- , top . up to the- - right right
S32: [on] [the right]
S30: [to the] other corner
25 S33: , uhu
S30: . from one corner to the other
S33: [to the other] corner . yes , like , like a-
cir circle - , like a circle , semicycle
S30: semicircle all right . OK
30 S33: . like a semicircle - - .
S30: yes
S32: [and]
S33: , and there're . five - - ,
S30: five trees
35 S31: five trees
S33: five trees
S32: yeah
S33: eh- , i in . in eh - in this position . , eh near to the A .
to the letter A
40 S32: . , in A one

S33: , there are two
 S30: , two
 S32: in A one / ? /
 S30: . OK
 45 S33: one
 S32: mm
 S33: , up number one . , and a
 S32: [/ ? /] up number one
 S30: . , can you repeat that please
 50 S33: . eh , there are , two trees . , eh . , one on the corner in
 the road - . another one - . over - . , the tree→ in the road
 S32: - - , in the→ , road
 S30: [OK]
 S33: . , then . , below the number one - . there is another tree
 55 S32: - yes
 S33: - - . near the→ , this eh→ last eh→ tree - , there is another
 one . in the right hand
 S32: yes
 S33: - - . ye eh - you you can see the tree . i below the
 60 number one - - below this one , there is , another tree - - .
 there are→ five trees
 S30: - yes
 S33: , OK what about your→ number A two
 S30: , A two we've got . like a river it's a river
 65 S33: . yes , a a river crossing the→
 S30: crossing the square
 S33: [the→ square] OK number three
 S30: [yes] A three - , we've got a→
 , a road
 70 S32: - - . with buildings
 S30: er notice that , below there→ . there is a key
 S33: - . key
 S30: , the key yes - - so . , did you find it
 S33: . yes
 75 S30: - d'you know what I mean then , you can tell though if it's
 S33.[yes]
 a road if it's a cliff a marsh . , a ford a bridge . , it's a
 S33: , yeah
 S30: OK . in A three
 80 S33: [in A three] looks likes seems a→ , road tunnel
 S30: - mm road tunnel A three
 S33: [A] three
 S30: there is a road - - and - a building
 S33: - - in . four
 85 S30: . , A three
 S32: A three
 S33: [A] three . yes
 S30: . do you have that
 S32: - we have a→
 90 S33: road
 S30: . a road . an' a building
 S33: - - / ? / - / ? /
 S30: . you don't have anything
 S33: , nothing

- 95 S30. . OK so you have to→ . , draw - a road - . eh the road begins
 - , at the left - . part of the square . , not at the corner
 S33. . yeah , in the middle
 S30 . not at the middle . not at the middle
 S33. up the middle
- 100 S30: - er→ - - - . n→o - - - - from the middle
 S32 [/ ? /]
 S33. yeah
 S30. to the left - between the middle and the corner
 S33. - - - - correct - , OK
- 105 S30. - now . the road rates - - goes up - . ah - - . at the
 middle of the square
 S33 yes . goes up
 S33. - er you're you're . you're talking me about A three
 S30. A three
- 110 S32: [yes yes]
 S33: - . myeah there is a→
 S32: a road
 S33: a road
 S30. - a road
- 115 S32: a road
 S33. er in your continues er in eh→
 S30: up to the middle of the square
 S31: mhm
 S33. . continues , in number A two
- 120 S30: - no A three going to the right
 S33: - from the line
 S32: - the the road is coming in number three
 S30. , A three
 S32: A three
- 125 S33: yeah
 S30: I told you , fro from square A three
 S33: [i in the in the top] yeah in the
 top
 S30: , the road begins at the left - of the square
 130 S33. [left] , OK - OK
 S30: not in the middle
 S33: yeah , you mean in the top line in the top line
 S30: [at the left of the] no
 down
- 135 S32. / ? / down
 S33: . mm
 S31: it's too difficult
 S30: , from the square , down
 S33: [yeah O K] - . yeah
- 140 S30: - from the middle , between the middle and the corner
 S33: [yeah you you have]
 you have a a a . a line just a line
 S32: yes road
 S30: a road
- 145 S32: a road - that i→s our road
 S33: [O K] I have been i it looks like a→
 river
 S30: it's a road not a river

S33: [indeed
 150 S32: [no → no → no →] it's a → road - or the tunnel
 S31:[a road]
 aah
 S33: OK
 S30: OK so you've got A three the same as we've got it
 155 S32,33: [yes]
 S33: yeah an' number four
 S30: [an' the] A four
 S32: there is a → a road in the middle ah no under below below
 S30: [below] ah
 160 it's a continual of
 S32: [continuation of] continue tha → the road
 S30: [continue the road]
 S33: yeah OK
 S32: of number three continue number four
 165 S33: is there a path
 S30: I don't think so
 S33: a tunnel
 S30: a tunnel
 S32: there is a → [/ ? /] there is a river and a bridge
 170 S33: ah could be a ford there
 S30: a ford yes
 S32: [a] ford
 S33: [O K] right and what about number five A
 S32: A five A →
 175 S30: [at] the corner of the square , there is a little
 river that continues from A four river
 S33: yeah
 S30: OK an' A → six
 S33: is there a in in number → A five is there a mill
 180 S30: [is empty] [yes]
 S32: a mill no no
 S33: [no] ah yah you you have draw a mill in the corner
 on the corner
 S32: nyes
 185 S33: of A five
 S30: which corner
 S33: eh in the on the top right hand corner (6 secs) OK
 S30: mhm
 S32: yes
 S33: yeah er - what about the number six
 190 S30: it's empty . A six is empty
 S33: empty for er em empt empty - totally empty
 S30: [empty]
 S32: yes
 S33: eh ah . what I want is re → . the roads
 195 S30: n nothing wi wi wi haven't got anything
 S33: - ah there is a → a road
 S32: a road
 S33: beginning in . number five
 S32: mhm
 200 S33: in the top part . in the left hand on the left hand it's
 beginning

S32: . it's , continuing isn't it
 S33: . continue to number six
 S32: oh
 205 S30: so that road crosses . A five up to A six
 S33: , A six eh
 S30: [in] diagonal
 S33: - in diagonal in the south in the corner
 S30: [to the] corner
 210 S33: yes to the corner
 S30: [to the] right corner bottom
 S33: [yes] yeah
 S32: aha
 S30: is OK . somethin' else
 215 S33: ahm
 S32: two roads erm / ? /
 S33: [and then er] - is er . there is a built-up .
 area too
 S30: in . A six
 220 S33: there is a built-up area
 S32: there is , where
 S33: . in A six
 S32: - A six yes
 S30: [yes] that's right
 225 S33: erm
 S30: in the corner . in the middle
 S33: [be] it begins at the er . end. of
 the , road
 S32: yes
 230 S33: then er as a / ? / goes - - . to . the an
 other on the . right hand below , right hand below
 S30: OK
 S33: OK . and what about number one B
 S32: one B
 235 S30: [one B] has got a little - built-up . area to the , left
 bottom corner , of the square
 S33: one B
 S30: yes one B
 S32: [one] B
 240 S33: yeah yeah
 S30: [a] little built-up area . built-up area
 S33: er we don't have in our map
 S30: [at the] bottom left of the square .
 bottom corner left . of the square
 245 S33: [yes i is] the beginning of a of a
 built-up area
 S30: this built-up area er - begins . at the corner . left corner
 S33: left corner
 S30: bottom
 250 S33: bottom
 S30: of B
 S33: of B
 S30: and it continues up to . the - bottom left corner of C . it
 is like a semi circle

255 S33: OK eh , eh in the . middle of the→ square one B is a→ . is
there a building
S30: no
S32: no no
S33: ah yah OK you you have to draw , one , building
260 S30: mhm
S33: in the middle part of the square
S30: in the centre part
S33: yes in . the centre . of B
S31: [of B]
265 S30: aha
S33: like a horizontal
S32: horizontal
S30: [horizontal]
S33: . horizontal building
270 S30: / ? /
S32: / ? /
S30: OK
S33: ah . then . i in the→ , in the middle of the→
S31: building
275 S33: the building begins a road
S32: in the middle of the→ building
S33: of the building begins a road that road
S32: continue
S30: / ? /
280 S33: goes south , through the . goes south goes south . to the→ ,
central part of the square D
S30: square C
S33: D
S32: [no] D D
285 S31: D D
S33: [crossing the square . C . goes until - the . central part
of square D
S30: OK
S33: eh it's . almost vertical but not at all
290 S30: mhm yes we've got a down the road
S32: [yes]
S33: you you have , you have this one
S30: yes / ? /
S33: right the→ . the . the , built-up area - is join
295 S32: we've got / ? /
S33: to the . i in→ in the square C
S30: no
S32: no
S33: no
300 S32: we've got none . in C er we we don't have
S30: - - . we do have yes - yes yes we have a built-up area there
S31: [/ ? /]
S32: ah yes yes , sorry
S33: you have you have
305 S30: I told you that you didn't have a built-up area . I told you
how to→ to draw it
S33: [yes I didn't have]
S32: is that a building-up aerea

S33: yes . I don't have a built-up area
 310 S31: [yeah / ? / si]
 S30: I told you to draw it
 S33: yes . OK
 S30: [like] a semicircle
 S33: yah ah I I wa I am asking you about if the→ . building-up .
 315 if the built up is joined to the road
 S30: no
 S33: no - - . OK , that right
 S30: oh , let's go from north to south OK now what about one D .
 one D
 320 S33: one D
 S30: - er→m - - it's between the middle and the top . there is a
 railway
 S33: railway
 S30: that crosses from west to east
 325 S32: [railway to] east
 S33: mm I don't have a railway I don't have a railway . a ,
 S30:[horizontal] [all right]
 railway . is , between
 S30: [between] the middle and the top of the square
 330 S33: yah where er where is er this railway . beginning
 S30: it . cross from west
 S32: to east
 S30: to east horizontal
 S33: yeah . in the m in the middle . of the→
 335 S30: no from - . from . one side to the other , from side to side
 S33: now what what eh about the→
 S31: / ? /
 S33: what about the→ the→ the place that the→ the railway begins
 S30: from side to side
 340 S33: from side to side all over the square all over the square
 S32: [have one]
 S30: [yes]
 S33: / ? /the square and all is . the→
 S30: no - I told you
 345 S33: yes
 S30: between the middle and the top
 S33: - . middle and top OK
 S30: [from side to side]
 S33: . OK
 350 S32: yes
 S30: hurray
 S33: [it]/ ? / . eh - in the m . in the bridge . d'you have
 a bridge - - . in - D
 S32: yes
 355 S33: D one
 S32: yes
 S30: yes we've got a bridge
 S32: [yes] [we]
 S33: one D - . you have a bridge
 360 S30,32: yes
 S33: the bridge is er→ oh no for , the , railway
 S32: yes

S30: [aha] crossing the railway and the railway goes down
 S32: [aha]
 365 S33: [mm] - - .
 goes down crossing the D eh the two D or - T (laughs) D two
 S30: [down] [D crossing]
 D or D two
 S33: [crossing D] number two and go - down in number three
 370 S32: number three no / ? /
 S31: [where it is]
 S30: [it just] goes down to
 S32: where is it
 S30: E two just one centimetre
 375 S33: in . num er in , letter E
 S30: E two in square E two
 S33: yeah
 S30: just one centimetre
 S33: - - - . OK
 380 S30: and there is a built-up area erm
 S32: / ? /
 S30: all over - . the centre river that is D two
 S33: mhm
 S30: and it - is also over tail - . the railway - - but not the
 385 bridge
 S33: yes OK
 S30: . OK . now the railway I told you there there was a little
 rail . way E two - just one centimetre
 S33: E
 390 S30: . E two it lays - on a road - - please
 S33: - yeah
 S30: that road . begins , in the middle of the square E one
 S33: E one
 S30: in the middle of the square at the left that square is
 395 S33: [yeah] [O K] [OK]
 S30: is divided in two / ? / . sorry that road the road is
 divided in two branches / ? / one branch is going to the
 north
 S33: yeah
 400 S30: and the other is going to the - right side over to the east
 S33: [yeah O K]
 S32: right
 S30: and that road crosses . E two E three E four E five and E
 six
 405 S33: OK
 S30: OK
 S33: almost - . horizontal
 S30: almost horizontal
 S33: OK
 410 S30: now in E six - ah at the middle left of the square
 S32 [left]
 S33: yeah
 S30: in the road there is a building
 S31: [a building]
 415 S33: - there is a building
 S30: a building horizontal building

S33: [yes] yeah OK
 S30: like a rectangle
 S33: [yes] yeah
 420 S32: there is erm→ a road in→ in tha→ i eh que es eso five no in
 the red five in the middle E five in the middle to the north
 S30: [E E five E five]
 S33: yah OK there is one
 S32: [continuing to] the C B
 425 S33: across the line
 S32: yes
 S30: yes
 S33: across the line i in eh→ in the last part . , in the north
 part of D and crossing , a→ bui a→ bridge
 430 S32: yes
 S33: then goes straight ahead until C
 S32: [/ ? /]
 S32: until C yes
 S33: [then] eh goes . up north
 435 S32: north to→
 S33: [in] B six
 S32: B→ s→ix yes
 S30: [mhm] [there] is a building
 S33: [there is a building]
 440 S32: there is a building
 S33: [there is] a building
 S32: yes
 S33: into . the→ built-up area and the (song)
 S30: we don't have built-up area
 445 S32: [yes]
 S33: yeah , OK , er what about the→ number four . B four
 S30: [wait] in
 six B
 S32: in six B
 450 S30: six B
 S32: there isn't there
 S30: we don't have building area
 S33: ah you don't have built-up
 S30: [built- lup area we don't have there
 455 S33: in
 S30: we just have
 S33: in six B
 S30: six B
 S32: yes
 460 S30: we just have the road and the building
 S33: ah OK . you must er draw erm→ , a buil tup area
 S30-[built-up area]
 i ye→a in a big built-up area . all er . all the square is eh→
 a built-up area
 465 S30: all the square
 S33: [like] like a circle
 S30: ah
 S32: [like] a circle
 S33: [like a] circle . the circle
 470 S32: begins

S33: [e er→ begin in the→ bottom right hand corner of er . A
 six - - A six - and outline things . ah→ semi circle
 crossing to the bottom left eh→ . left hand er→ . corner .
 join the roads - join the roads . then , cross the corner ,
 475 cross the corners of six B
 S32: six B
 S33: then a semi cycle crossing the . corner - to . five C then -
 - . six , C→
 S32: C C six continue downward
 480 S33: yeah OK continue , the→ - . er er almost the middle
 S32: [ahm erl yes -
 there is a→ / ? / there is a branching . bridge , in , C .
 C five
 S33: yeah
 485 S32: five and six
 S33: yeah we have there is a bridge
 S32: [/ ? /] [be] between five and six
 S33: yes
 S32: yes
 490 S33: yeah is is wrote - the→ , is wrote the→ . built-up . area
 S32: yes
 S33: yeah , OK
 S32: yeah
 S33: eh what about the→ . B four
 495 S32: B four there is a→ erm , there is a lot o-f strees woods
 S30: [the woods]
 S33: [woods]
 S30: woods
 S32: woods
 500 S33: yeah OK
 S30: many trees
 S32: woods
 S33: [m→]any trees OK
 S30: and in the middle of the wood there is a bridge
 505 S32: [there is a bridge] there is a
 bridge
 S33: OK
 S30: OK
 S33: what about number , C . two
 510 S32: - C two there is a river
 S30: there is a river crossing
 S32: - crossing number two and . number three

End of recording

Exercise 4 'Ask the Right Question'

Group A

S2: we are group A and our names are C G and R so OK
 S1: [we] are going
 5 to take the cards out of the envelope and place them down
 face downwards on the table so you have to pick up a card
 and you're not going to show this card to us you read what
 is written on the card and then ask to the other player a
 question so you have to ask me a question
 S3: mhm
 S2: OK
 10 S3: / ? /
 S2: and
 S1: first of all we are group A and our names are C R and G
 S2: OK erm tell me er what did you read erm what did you
 everyday in a newspaper
 15 S1: reports
 S2: m-aybe
 S1: what about news
 S3: [news]
 S2: news OK that's right the- right answer so it's your
 20 S1: now you G . you are going to read
 S2: [your turn to take a card]
 S3: OK I think that people some like like ah one colour one
 colour what people colour wearing eh or something like that
 S2: a red one
 25 S3: mhm yes it's red
 S1: so it's red
 S3: so that's your card
 S1: so but here yes but here in number four hm in the
 instruction they say that if he does not give you the right
 30 answer ask your question again using different
 S2: [again using different] words OK
 S1: right so you have to pick up another card
 S2: [so I have to pick up another card]
 S3: but it must be clear I think mustn't it
 35 S2: yes so
 S1: yes this is an object which is used er in ah in the sea
 what which is commonly used to be driven under the sea and
 S2: submarine
 S3: [submarine]
 40 S1: yes it's a submarine
 S2: [submarine] yes
 S1: submarine very good
 S2: / ? /
 S3: take one out
 45 S2: OK
 S1: yes pick another one
 S2: OK the last OK eh when you need help of any kind there are
 three letters that make there are three letters that
 S1: [there are what]
 50 S2: you can form in order the
 S1: [/ ? /] sos

(laughs)
S1: OK that's / ? / sos OK that's right / ? / a bit of
S3:[sos]
55 S2:[yes] [yes]
time
S2: [yes]
S3: I didn't pick up
S2: yeh you've got to pick up card
60 S3: I see / ? / farm
S1: oh do you like animals
S2: yes I love them
S3: oh yes eh but in this case it's ahm / ? /
S1: OK it's a wild animal probably
65 S3: maybe
S1: mhm
S3: yes now I
S1: [do] we have to tell you the name of this animal of
this wild animal
70 S3: would you would you like to tell me the name because if I if
I if I give you the name
S1: [yes do we have] that's what I'm asking you do we
S3:[/ ? /]
have all right so it's a wild animal yes you have to
75 describe it
S3: I have to describe aha I have to describe it erm it's
known as the king of the jungle
S2: the lion
S1: [it's] the lion
80 S2: the lion
S1: all right so it's my turn
S3: (laughs)
S1: OK this food is er done by the bees
S2: honey
85 S1: honey yes
S3: [oh] yes honey
S1: yes very good
S2: OK that's my turn
S1,3: / ? /
90 S2: OK there's a
S1: [the last] one
S2: there is a kind of activity that monkeys normally do
S3: climbing
S2: no
95 S3: jumping on
S2: jump jump
S1: [jumping]
S2: OK that's right
S1: so the correct answer is
100 S3: jump
S2: [jump] OK that's right
S1: right

End of recording

Group B

- S4: er this word is erm - what do you feel - . ah about a-nother
man another . woman or . you like your mother , it's a feel-
ing . or like y er it's a feeling . that you fee erm→ you feel
5 only for . the→ dear . dear person that , that you - - that
if they→ that people are near , the people is near to you . ,
feel this
S5: love
S4: yes (laughs) OK , you please
S5: - - - - - this word - that you→ . if you lie to→ do the→
10 something . , they are
S4: [it's] an activity
S5: yes
S4: it's an activity
S5: yes
15 S4: er , where the activity , we can er can we ee can we make
can we do
S5: - . in the house
S4: in a house for example er , maybe maybe , perhaps eh - -
wash / ? / no wash no
20 S5: [no] - in the kitchen
S4: [well it's] in the ki ah OK
cook
S5: yes
S4: OK - another - - . one i er this er this activity . , you
25 can→ . make eh for example , in this season
S5: mm
S4: in this season swim that's right
S5: [swim] vale
S4: oi no
30 S5: rights this words refers to→ the people n the→
S4: where where do they live
S5: [jungle] they live in the jungle
S4: in the jungle in the jungle in the jungle indians
S5: indians the red indians
35 S4: red / ? / in north america
S5: north american - jungle
S4: jungle is here
S5: in the
S4: [north] america united states
40 S5: aha
S4: red indians I'm going to ask you about a man that who that
er who erm a theatre er theatre plays like hamlet who write
hamlet
S5: shakespeare
45 S4: shakespeare william shakespeare another one
S5: this word is about the language
S4: about the language what kind of language
S5: the erm phonet
S4: phonetic language phonetic language it's like phonemes li
50 S5: mm
S4: maybe signs
S5: signs

S4: signs
 S5: sign language
 55 S4: er this is a thing that only eh the people only er ca er
 only ca can only use in the sea for example under the sea
 S5: mm
 S4: under sea it is in a ship it is in a ship it it is i er
 S5: it's erm submarine
 60 S4: submarine
 S5: it's a word that erm it's a word that er you are er
 S4: making an activity
 S5: [making] and activity
 S4: OK what kind of activity gym or others
 65 S5: gym
 S4: gym
 S5: no
 S4: for example walking no running
 S5: no
 70 S4: no like running
 S5: no
 S4: jump
 S5: jump
 S4: jumping / ? / Jumping OK er eh what eh do you think what
 75 kind of animals make er ah→ make ah something sweet that
 they they go to flowers and pick up something
 S5: go to flower and pick up the honey
 S4: honey
 S5: honey
 80 S4: no pick up the bees pick up ho something that's a honey
 S5: honey
 S4: bees OK
 S5: mm this is an animal who lives in the zoo
 S4: who is in
 85 S5: the zoo (whispers) zoologico
 S4: in the zoo ah it's in the zoo
 S5: [zoo] aha
 S4: but it's ah→ wild animal is it a wild animal
 S5: yes
 90 S4: it's a wild animal tiger
 S5: no
 S4: no it isn't a tiger
 S5: it's a bra+ve animal
 S4: it's a feroce feroce fe a ferious isn't it yes
 95 S5: [no] [no] yes yes
 S4: a ferious it's it's the king of the jungle (laughs) the lion
 S5: the lion
 S4: OK here OK is it este eh this word is a country it's a
 country em where the olympics game began
 100 S5: mm olympic games
 S4: OK
 S5: greek
 S4: greek greek
 S5: it's a colour
 105 S4: it's a colour it's a a→ a strong colour or weak colour strong
 S5: [strong]

S4: colour
 S5: strong colour
 S4: OK strong colour for example mm strong colour brown or
 110 S5: no
 S4: red
 S5: red
 S4: red OK I'm going to ask you about when when you when do you
 listen to the radio for example and what happens eh for
 115 example yesterday it was an explosion
 S5: yes
 S4: eh what er and you heard and you listened to the radio what
 what do we you think that is that
 S5: erm
 120 S4: that what do you listen
 S5: [erm] I was listen to the news
 S4: news that's right

End of recording

Group C

S8: erm what is the place - where'm what is the place - where
 erh most of the persons - erm used . for to- picnic for to-
 to- go down town - erm
 S6: camping - forests
 5 S8: right
 S6: er underneath
 S8: yes yes that's right
 S6: [have to] stay there underneath
 S8: [have to stay] there yes
 10 S7: how many states eh does the united states have
 S6: - er I I it has fifty one states
 S7: right
 S6: erm- - in the morning what do - er no erm - what do you
 use for to read in the morning
 15 S7: the news the newspaper
 S6: newspaper the newspaper that's right
 S7: [news the news] I read the news
 S6: yeah again your turns
 S8: erm (8 secs) what colour but of what what colour is your -
 20 pen
 S7: red colour
 S8: yes
 S6: (laughs)
 S7: where do the- greek people lives
 25 S6: - - in greek
 S7: . how they are called
 S6: erm - . greek
 S7: right
 S6: oh my lord (laughs) yeah - . erm . it's a wild animal
 30 S8: a wild animal
 S6: yes erm erm - it lives in the - forest

S8: the→ . that's a→ lion
 S6: that's a lion yes . right
 S7: what do you eat m what do get from the→ bees . and you use
 35 as er sugar . what do you call it
 S6: er honey
 S7: right - - . next - - - - you take one
 S8: - - - - . erm (9 secs) what is the→ . the play tha most of
 40 the children - - like to do . when they are m . they are
 waiting
 S7: they like to jump
 S8: they like to jump
 S7: jump
 S8: mhm
 45 S7: jump
 S7: what's the , kind of . ship or boat - that er goes under the
 water , entire completely
 S6: [erm] it's a submarine
 S7: fine - . next
 50 S6: what's the language of the deaf people . used
 S7: the what
 S6: the deaf people used
 S7: deaf people erm - - . sign sign sign language
 S6: yes . that's OK
 55 (extended whispering)
 S7: I think it's canterbury tales
 S8: - - - . it's erm - a very large er . a very long . author
 S7: er - english author
 S8: yes
 60 S7: he is er . shakespeare
 S8: shakespeare
 S7: william shakespeare
 S8: mhm
 S7: yes

End of recording

Group D

S9: OK . L . tell me the name of an ancient civilisation er that
 was developed in europe
 S11: greesh . greek greek
 S9: yes the greek civilisation , very good very good
 5 S11: keep the card , keep the card you keep the card C - my name
 is L . eh a thing used long ago . to fetch water
 S10: - mm . a pail
 S11: n→o . the pail goes inside of this thing
 S10: erm
 10 S11: the answer
 S10: erm , I don't remember how to say that
 S11: should she lose or can I say that eh . you know what I mean
 S10: yeah
 S11: you put the pail inside of this thing and down to earth and

- 15 S10:[I'n put it to earth]
 you get water
 S10: you get water from it yes but . I didn't know the . the word
 , that word
 S11: in spanish
 20 S10: is it right
 S11: well maybe
 S10: poso
 S11: poso . a well
 S10: a well
 25 S11: a well
 S9/12: (laugh)
 S10: now you keep the card . C giving name) did you see what the
 answer is
 S12: aha
 30 S10: erm some people who lived in the united states before . the-
 . before the americans oh excuse me . before the europeans
 came to this land
 S12: - - - indians . the indians right
 S10: yes the . they er . OK . but . indians looks like . it - have
 35 - do I have . to make the question again
 S11: / ? /
 S10: [OK] can you who . can you give me a precise erm -
 attitude for them because - indians were . the h who , all
 the people who lived in . america as well in the south in the
 40 north so precisely how would you call those indians
 S11: / ? /
 S10: who lived in the north of america
 S12: alaskans I know they're red indians
 S10: [yes] (laughs)[OK] you
 45 S12: so (7 secs) A tell me a name of an animal who lives in the
 jungle
 S9: a lion
 S12: that's right how did you know
 S9,10 11: [(laughter)]
 50 S9: I have a sixth sense - erm L - this is an action . that yyou
 do when er for example you want to reach a thing that is so
 high and you can I mean er if you raise your hand you can
 touch that
 S11: stretch
 55 S9: n-o - you have to- . even if you stretch you cannot reach
 this thing
 S11: jump
 S9: jump . very good
 S12: [(laughter)]
 60 S11: oh - this . is a place . you can go to sleep for example . in
 La Cantuta . we have these special houses , little houses
 S10: mhm
 S11: to have a- a weekend there
 S10: mhm
 65 S11: what i what is
 S10: [bun]galow
 S11: bungalow very good C
 S12: ah yeh

S10: OK . L - what's the name of the author of hamlet
 70 S12: shakespeare
 S10: yes
 S12: (laughs) A
 S9: tell me
 S12: - erm→ na . ah means of transportation - under the water I
 75 mean the sea
 S9: submarine
 S12: right
 S9,10,11:(laughter)
 S9: L , what do you , ah to→ , to amend your mistake , when
 80 you're writing something
 S11: . eraser
 S9: yes - - but . er . there's another word for that
 S11: . mm→ . oh rubber
 S9: mm hurray an eraser was very good
 85 S11: yes , OK
 S9: / ? /
 S11: how many mm
 S10: take your time
 S11: how many parts does united states is divided in
 90 S10: in . in fifty states
 S11: you're missing one
 S12: (laughs)
 S11: excuse me fifty one
 S10: fifty one . sorry
 95 S11: fifty one - OK
 S10: OK . will you , can you name this feeling that a . mother has
 . toward his child , toward any of his children
 S12: in , what situation , er
 S10: a feeling , that a mother , what's how how can you tell me ,
 100 can you name me this feeling , that the mother or father has
 towards children
 S12: love
 S10: yes
 S12: right - - - - tell me how can I make explication for that -
 105 - - what . is the , complement of the language
 S9: gestures - - mm - words
 S12: ooh
 S9: body language
 S12: no it's not - - how do you represent - the language , by
 110 what
 S9: by sounds
 S12: right by the sounds of the language
 S9: OK
 S10: you were / ? /
 115 S9: L . what does a fish do very well
 S11: - swim
 S9: s very good swims
 S9,12: (laugh)
 S9: gifted girl
 120 S12: (laughs)
 S11: C - this is a clour . a colour women puts on their lips
 S10: lipstick

S11: no , the colour
 S10: rouge
 125 S11: but what is the colour
 S10: red
 S11: red
 S10: OK ah - what / ? /
 S12: / ? /
 130 S10: right
 S12: what , does the bees - carry
 S9: what does the what
 S12: what . do the bees - carry
 S9: honey
 135 S12: right
 S10,11: (laughter)
 S9: . there is one thing that mothers- or housewives have to do
 every day - they have to
 S11: they have to do every day
 140 S9: yes
 S11: clean the house
 S9: well , if you don't clean the house every day
 S11: cook
 S9: ye-s
 145 S10,12: (laughter)

End of recording

Group E

S14: OK downwards
 S13: Oh sorry I didn't see / ? / they have been very clever to
 put the because otherwise we would see it must pick up a
 card / ? /
 5 S15: mhm
 S14: right no just one by one OK off we go
 S13: ah which ah er is a+ word most commonly used when you
 need help
 S14: help (laughs)
 10 S13: just that in case of accidents we use to write down a word
 which is not exactly a word asking for help
 S14: word which is not exactly a word asking for help
 S13: yes
 S15: to have to fin find the→ the idea or the / ? /
 15 S13: imagine you are lost in an island because you have had an
 accident and so you need help
 S14: oh you are calling the attention of somebody
 S13: yes so
 S14: [so] you just have to say eh
 20 S13: [it's a] no
 S15: / ? /
 S13: no you're asking for for help I think eh that this is
 something internationally known
 S14: oh

- 25 S15: telephone
 S13: when you ask for help
 S15: telephone
 S14: [S 10 S
 S13: SOS
 30 S15: ah
 S14: ah
 S13: so you're right OK
 S14: I'll put it erm
 S13: I er keep it there
 35 S14: [at the bottom] at the bottom
 S13: no no no at the bottom when you miss it
 S14: pardon oh wh when you mean it's done yah
 S13: mm there's
 S14: when the answer is wrong you have to put it at the bottom
 40 S13:[wrong] [yes]
 OK that's all right next that's er his turn
 S13: oh sorry tha er it's your turn you must take one and we have
 to guess
 S15: oh no how do you feel eh our your mother your family
 45 your child
 S13: [what] what we feel
 S15: what we feel
 S13: towards them love
 S14: love
 50 S15: (laughs)
 S13: ah I was right right now it's your turn it's a strong
 S14:[please]
 feeling
 S14: oh right ahm this is an animal this animal is called the
 55 king of the jungle
 S13: a lion
 S14: that's right
 S13: (laughs) it was not exactly an a / ? / OK now it's my turn
 what action do you do in case you're very happy
 60 S15: clapping
 S13: yes - but . I I consider clapping just like a→ gesture
 S14: oh a gesture that you're happy
 S13: no not a gesture but an action you do when you're very happy
 S14: I
 65 S13: our children do
 S14: smile
 S13: no / ? / an activity children do very often
 S14: [laugh]
 S15: [jumping] jumping
 70 S13: the word is jump yes
 S14: [jump] yes fine your turn
 S13: now it's your turn
 S15: it's a colour bright colour
 S14: [erm] [erm]
 75 S15: a colour like in / ? /
 S13: it's a common colour
 S15: it's a colour a colour
 S14: common colour

S15: common colour common colour
 80 S14: ah
 S13: blue
 S15: no
 S13: red
 S15: red
 85 S13: oh
 S14: oh how easy (laughs) eh the question is what do the bees produce
 S13: honey
 S14: [honey] honey that's right honey
 90 S13: [/ ? /] what do we read in the newspapers and what do we listen I'd say in the radio / ? /
 S14: news
 S13: news
 95 S15: I like ah (laughs) / ? / by - the colour . the colour of
 S14: [news]
 S15: the - generally - - the war - in - / ? / - the word / ? /
 / ? / ships OK / ? /
 S13: [ships] [not ship] submarines
 100 S15: submarines
 S14: ehm this is an activity something that mother has to do every day
 S13: mother has to do every day
 S15: [/ ? /] ah no
 105 S13: it takes a long time and you finish with in a moment cooking
 S14: i cooking that's right cooking
 S15: mothers do
 S13: not only mother all wives
 110 S14: but mothers in general have to cook wives you know (laughs) sometimes they don't want to
 S13: aha
 S14: ah
 S13: what do fishes do what does a fish do
 115 S14: they they give orders to everybody
 S13: fish
 S14: oh fish / ? /
 S13: [fish] no no no no what do fishes do
 S14: [fish]
 120 they swim
 S13: ah and what does a fish do
 S14: swims swims
 S13: fishes they swim
 S14: they swim
 125 S13: now the fish
 S14: it swims
 S13: it swims now it's right hm you had to say it swims (laughter) / ? /
 S15: OK this is an object that we use always by the students
 130 S13: a book
 S15: no book
 S14: it is used to write

S15: [used] er to write
 S14: it's a - pen
 135 S15: no it's not especially
 S13: crayon
 S15: no
 S14: colour
 S15: it's part of their co complements their write
 140 S14: an eraser an eraser
 S15: [I] got a rubber
 S13: rubber rubber or eraser
 S14: [rubber] eraser oh erm
 S13: (laughs)
 145 S14: it's going to be a little hard erm can you tell me the name
 of an ancient language
 S13: classical
 S14: no
 S13: latin ancient very ancient language
 150 S14: [something] something that has
 to- 1 is are the
 S13: [is esperanto]
 S15: [greek greek]
 S13: [ah] greek
 155 S14: greek
 S13: or the classic could be / ? /
 S15: (laughter)
 S14: / ? /
 S13: what do we use instead of houses if we go to- our clubs
 160 and we spend there no no more than a day
 S14: [/ ? /]
 S13: could be a weekend
 S14: [ca] I think
 S13: no
 165 S14: could be a weekend
 S13: the weekend
 S15: which
 S13: for the weekend it's a thing ah I I have to make the
 question again what do we use in case we go- to live in- in
 170 a hotel or we we- we travel somewhere
 S14: like
 S13: and we need
 S15: back home
 S13: [to] live somewhere but we do not want to live in a
 175 hotel but with more privacy what do we use
 S15: bathroom
 S13: no no no is there a when you move from place to place and
 you're a foreigner you usually use somewhere
 S14: yes
 180 S13: what would you use instead of a hotel / ? / or something
 more provisional
 S14: a a a cabin if if it isn't a / ? / a cabin
 S13: [/ ? /] n-o
 S14: maybe a log cabin
 185 S13: n-o it's something very very- well-known
 S14: something that

S13: used
 S14: maybe some maybe something that er-
 S13: [right]
 190 S15: a / ? /
 S14: well is it a a a sort of plank building or is it something
 just for you to sleep
 S13: [it's not a house] no
 S14: no oh not a building / ? / really oh no
 195 S15: / ? /
 S14: [hotel]
 S13: do you give up
 S14: ah restaurant
 S13: well no where you live you can live and stay there
 200 S14: you can live and eat well
 S13: I think a restaurant is different but maybe it's not well
 explained or the question is not well-known / ? /
 S14: / ? / oh
 S13: OK it's your turn
 205 S15: for the- / ? / in- in north america / ? / to- play
 into the / ? / and continue in in hobby
 S13: a as hobby
 S14: [hobby] hobby
 S15: / ? / like a fort
 210 S14: for boys and girls
 S15: boys and girls an-
 S14: baseball
 S15: no
 S13: basket
 215 S15: no erm
 S14: you play
 S13: in a team in a group in a group you play this game in a
 S15:[uhm]
 group
 220 S15: no- only single game only single / ? /
 S14: by yourself you can play by yourself in in
 S15: [only one] right
 S14: [I can]
 played the chess
 225 S15: with the- common by eh- north america with chess (laughs)
 S13: / ? /
 S15: ah (laughs)
 S14: ow this is erm what
 S15: (laughs) we where
 230 S14: what do people start to do at the end of the at the end of
 the day at the end of the- working hard
 S13: rest quiet
 S14: well what do we do during the last hours of class
 S13: [hours of the] during
 235 the last hour of the class we are tired
 S14: tired what do you do
 S13: what do we do we have to work rest
 S15: [talk]
 S14: no
 240 S15: oh

S14: it's something that occurs gradually only by by intervals
 by intervals something eh maybe that even av avoids you
 S13: luck move to move
 S14: no we can move in some of the day but something that you
 245 want to do when you're tired you have a special dream
 S15: for to eat
 S14: at the end of the class
 S15: to eat
 S14: (I) mean that hour during the last er during the last
 250 hour OK
 S13: K
 S14: something that you probably do before going to bed
 S13: you sleep
 S14: no-
 255 S13: ah before going to bed sorry sorry (laughter) you mop up
 S14: no yawn
 S13: I don't understand the word ah how many states does the
 united states of north america have
 S14: forty three (laughs)
 260 S13: how many states
 S15: fifty
 S14: fifty one
 S15: [fifty one] fifty one
 S13: fifty one
 265 S15: / ? /

End of recording

Group F

S16: where do you live if you're spending your ho your weekend
 at Cantina del Bosque
 S17: at a forests
 S18: bungalow
 5 S16: at OK
 S17: what does a- fish do
 S19: swim
 S17: mhm
 S19: ah mm at school ah what did the boy doing now
 10 S16: study write
 S19: what does a boy do when he is studying
 S16: reads
 S18: m what does an announcer says through the radio in the
 morning
 15 S17: no notice news news news sorry
 S16: erm what do you do if you want to prepare a meal if you
 want to prepare a meal what do you do
 S17: cook erm what do you do with / ? / those shoes that
 have wheels with it
 20 S18: skate
 S17: yes
 S19: what do you do no what do the children do in the park

S16: play run
 S19: / ? /
 25 S17: jump
 S19: jump OK
 S18: what kind of thing do you feel to your fiancé
 S16: love mm what kind of people lived in the united states
 before the pilgrims and pioneers
 30 S17: indians
 S16: arrived er yes indians but do they have a specific colour
 of skin
 S17,18,19: red
 S16: OK so will you please repeat your complete answer
 35 S17: red indians
 S16: red indians
 S17: something that people used many years ago to pump water
 it's made of s rock and it's under the ground
 S16: a well
 40 S19: it's ahm refers to the ocean
 S17: sea
 S19: below the sea you know
 S16: sand
 S18: plants
 45 S19: it's refer to the ocean the problem
 S18: submarine
 S19: submarine OK
 S18: OK when when you don't have enough sugar what can you use
 S17: honey
 50 S18: (laughs)
 S16: mmh mmh what large country in the world has a lot of states
 S17: united states
 S16: how many states does it have
 S17: fifty
 55 S19: [fifty] three
 S17: fifty fif
 S19: about fifty
 S16: mm
 S19: fifty five
 60 S17: more
 S16: between fifty and fifty two
 S17,18,19: fifty one (laugh)
 S16: yes (laughs)
 S17: eh what sign do you use when you are erm in danger
 65 S16: what sign
 S19: wait
 S17: no let me do it again ah where you are sailing for example
 and you are going and your boat is drifting
 S16: SOS
 70 S17: yes
 S16: save our ships
 S17: pick one
 S19: ahm it's a / ? / city
 S16: a what a what
 75 S18: / ? / city
 S17: tell something else

S19: ah it refers to europe
 S17: to europe
 S19: europe
 80 S17: it's a country
 S16: [a city]
 S19: no it's a country OK continue
 S16: north centre east
 S19: south
 85 S18: what language do they speak
 S19: it's a language / ? / from greece
 S16: greek
 S19: OK yeah
 S18: the king of the jungle
 90 S17: tarzan ye ah lion (laughs)
 S16: [lion] now if your are sleepy or→ what
 gestures are you going to make
 S17: yawn
 S16: OK
 95 S17: all right if you can't speak what which language will you
 use
 S16: mimics
 S18: gest gestures movements
 S17: no using words what do you use to→
 100 S16: pictures signs
 S18: ■
 S17: [yes]
 S19: it's / ? / erm writer
 S16: an author
 105 S19: an author OK what's the name
 S16: er what he wrote
 S17: er is he famous
 S19: yes romeo and juliet romeo and juliet
 S17: [s he peruvian] ah
 110 S16: shakespeare
 S17: [shakespeare]
 S19: OK
 S16: ah
 S18: OK it's a material ah what is an eraser made out of
 115 S16: rubber
 S17: rubber
 S18: [yes]/ ? /

End of recording

Group G

S22: I'm going to pick a card ahm eh it's a word where eh if
 you are in danger what do you what is the just a word we
 say repeat
 S20: [help] help
 5 S22: yeah it's something like this like help it's help sure but
 no exactly the word

S20: gosh gosh
 S22: no eh er er er it's er they are three words three words
 10 S20: it's very common which eh which means help when you are
 in danger
 S20: three letters
 S22: three letters or three words
 S20: SOS
 S22: SOS save our selves OK another player your turn
 15 S21: [SOS]
 S21: mm ah m there are eh→ many months
 S22: many
 S21: are many primitive months
 S22: many months
 20 S20: primitive months
 S22: in exactly what you ask questions
 S21: it's exactly in the→ er india in the india
 S21: in india
 S21: a child
 25 S22: indian boys
 S21: ah it's erm / ? /
 S22: like like a tribu
 S21: tribu
 S22: indian tribe
 30 S21: / ? /
 S20: the incas
 S21: no the incas eh mm eh that mans is half a colour
 S22: men
 S21: aha men that men
 35 S22: the men ha have ha has a colour
 S21: yes
 S22: er could be red
 S21: yes red
 S22: so eh the indian red
 40 S21: yes that is
 S22: or the red indians
 S21: yes the red indians it is
 S20: some you have to→ guess something very sweet to eat
 S22: something to eat very sweet a cake
 45 S20: no
 S22: icecream
 S21: [ah]
 S20: no
 S21: a candy
 50 S20: no something liquid
 S22: liquid papaya just
 S21: [mm]
 S20: no erm it's made from→ something very fr very sweet that
 ah→m bees make
 55 S22: it's a made
 S20: bees
 S21: cocktail
 S20: no
 S22: something like a pap
 60 S20: no the bees make

S22: oh yes
 S21: mm
 S22: erm so eh it has a→ mm→
 S20: sugar flavour
 65 S22: sugar flavour
 S21: yes it's like erm
 S22: it's lickid li liquid
 S20: yes
 S22: [liquid]
 70 S21: it's→ honey
 S20: yes
 S21: ah
 S22: oh you are right now I pick up it's a→ OK I pick up
 this card ehmm here I have one word and one number a
 75 number of two ah number of two
 S20: digits
 S21: erm
 S22: digits
 S21: erm
 80 S22: a number of two digits two digits
 S20: you have to ask the right question
 S22: OK oh yah I have to ask eh it's a number not past er not
 over sixty and it's two digits
 S20: fifty
 85 S22: er it's close

End of recording

Group H

S23: tell me what is what you feel for another person when you
 want to get married to him or to her
 S24: love
 S25: love
 5 S26: love h eh how do→ how do the boys and girls do when
 they play
 S24: they play a game
 S23: they play a game they probably they
 S26: [out outdoors] outdoors
 10 S25: outdoors
 S23: they may they may run
 S24: [they jump]
 S26: they jump
 S24: the jump
 15 S23: mm
 S24: can't you see that box there with the cassettes what colour
 is it
 S23: orange
 S24: not orange
 20 S23: oh red
 S26: red
 S25: red

S24: 's red
 S23: huh it's red
 25 S25: ah I would like you think about ah ah something sweet
 S26: honey
 S25: honey
 S23: [honey] er what do you read in the morning when you get a
 newspaper what do what do you actually read
 30 S24: news
 S26: news
 S23: next
 S26: mm what's the name of erm→ of a big boat that goes under the
 sea
 35 S23: submarine
 S26: submarine
 S24: what do we usually do when they feel hungry an+d have
 all the things ready to be prepared
 S25: to prepare cook
 40 S24: yes
 S23: to cook
 S25: mhm ahm thing ah in ah→ ahm in a especial (whisper)
 S23: everything is being recorded
 S25: I will a new ah how many es estates how many states erm
 45 does eh the US A have
 S23: fifty
 S26: fifty one
 S25: fifty fifty one
 S24: not fifty one
 50 S25: [fifty] fifty one
 S23: [fifty one]
 S24: oh
 S23: oh what do you erase pens with
 S25: what
 55 S26: sorry
 S23: what do you erase pens with in your notebook
 S24: rubber
 S26: huh rubber
 S23: what does a / ? / do
 60 S26: er what does what does a girl do in water
 S24: he swims
 S26: [swims]
 S23: [hel swims
 S24: can you tell me what language do they speak in greece
 65 S23: greek
 S26: [greek]
 S25: what is the→ king of the jungle
 S26: the lion
 S23: who wrote hamlet
 70 S26: shakespeare
 S24: [shakespeare]
 S25: [shakespeare]
 S26: what's the sign that the boats make when they are in the
 danger
 75 S24: SOS
 S25: [boats]

S23: SOS
 S24: what do children do when they→'s parents when their parents
 buy them rollers
 80 S23: rollers
 S25: rollers they skate
 S23: they skate
 S26: skate
 S24: right
 85 S25: think about eh when you got all the money to rest to hav e
 a good time ah where do you go where
 S23: to a bungalow
 S25: it's good
 S23: er what do you do when you are hungry and sleepy with a
 90 lot of minor gestures
 S24,25,25: yawn
 S23: yawn
 S26: how do you call the place e eh where you→ take water from
 S23: a well
 95 S26: a well
 S24: if you have if you go in your car and you see different
 signs with some pictures showing something what do you
 call those signs suppose you are in a hospital and you
 see ah circle with a cigarette and con with a cross on it
 100 it means something how do you call that kind of
 identifications or s or symbols
 S25: a sign language
 S23: sign language
 S26: [sign language
 105 S24: OK yes
 (Interruption)
 S23: ah how do you call the kind of language where you don't
 use actually words just er gestures signs on the→ door
 S26: pictures
 110 S23: pictures also
 S25: sign language
 S26: language sign language
 S23: [that's sign language]
 S26: how do you call a place where you can stay for a weekend
 115 it's like a small house
 S24: a bungalow
 S23: a tent it's small a tent
 S26: it's small a tent
 S24: / ? / which animal is the one that we all feel
 120 represents the king of the jungle
 S23: the lion
 S25: the lion (whispering)
 S23: [it's up to you now
 S24: you must know
 125 S23: say something
 S24: say something it doesn't matter
 S23: we already know the answer
 S25: swim
 S24: it swims it swims what swims something must swim
 130 S23: an animal a thing

S25: when you go to the→ to the beach what'll you do
 S23: I'll swim
 S24: swimming
 S25: swimming
 135 S24: people swims but it's not about the people it's it
 S25: (spanish) like a fish
 S26: lik a fish too
 S25: like a fish too
 S23: [yes they swim]/ ? / does a fish swim
 140 S24: [they swim] they - what
 does a fish do
 S23: it swims
 S25: [it swims]
 S24: mhm
 145 S23: mm a ship that travels under→ water
 S26: submarine
 S24: [submarine]
 S25: submarine
 S23: yes
 150 S26: er what do you do when you are sleepy and tired not er
 / ? / not er→ / ? / er a gesture
 S24: when you sleep
 S26: when you feel sleepy when you feel tired
 S24: you yawn
 155 S26: you yawn
 S24: who wrote othello
 S25: shakespeare
 S26: [shakespeare] ah when you→ have a mistakes in the paper
 what ah do you use
 160 S25: a rubber
 S23: a rubber what do you feel for your boyfriend
 S24: love
 S26: lo→ve
 S25: [(laughter)]
 165 S26: great love what do children like to do when they are
 outside
 S24: play
 S23: they like to play
 S26: another activity
 170 S23: jump
 S25,26: jump
 S24: what do childrens do to that's ri wa what the childrens
 enjoy doing when their parents buy them rollers
 S23: they they enjoy to→ skate
 175 S25: skate
 S24: [to] skate
 S25: what about ah / ? / ah in the→ north american indians
 S23: I know the answer but er
 S24: it's not correct question
 180 S23: it's not a good questions
 S25: who was the→ original person original kind of people er
 who were in north americans
 S23: the indians huh
 S24: the indians

185 S25: the red indians
 S23: ha what you find water with what do you find water out
 of with
 S24: out of
 S23: but ah
 190 S24: out of a well
 S26: what is the international signal for help
 S24: SOS
 S23: SOS
 S24: how many states are there in the united states
 195 S23: fifty one
 S25: fifty one
 S26: [fifty one] what do you when you ahm are feeling hungry
 ahm but ah before what do you do before
 S24: before eating
 200 S26: before eating
 S23: [before eating] I sit at the table
 S24: cook
 S26: ah no / ? / your family your family or maybe you
 S25: love cooking
 205 S26: you have to cook
 S23: what's the colour of your blood
 S25: red (laughs)
 S24: mine is blue (laughter)
 S25: what do bees produce
 210 S24: honey
 S23: honey
 S26: [honey]
 S24: what do you listen to every day on the radio very early in
 the morning erm
 215 S25: the news
 S24: the news
 S23: (laughs) some people would answer the records
 S24: mm
 S23: or
 220 S24: the beatle's songs / ? /
 S25: [a special] er this one a special culture
 in a great civilisation
 S26: erm
 S24: the greeks
 225 S25: the greeks
 S26: the greeks

End of the recording

Exercise 5 'Complete It'

Group B

- S4: OK I have - er you have to guess - ah in this in this er picture I have ah - an escene that - the→ for example . what happens when - a→ - a truck or a bus - or a - they the - the driver - drives er - very fast - and for example the→ -
- 5 a people who dri - who→ drives a bicycle - cross - suddenly - and what happens
- S5: he→ the truck er - al the accident
- S4: there is an accident what kind of accident
- S5: [there is an accident] mm mm como
- 10 se dice
- S4: the
- S5: he the→ person→
- S4: the man OK the man or the boy not a person
- S5: [the man or the person the] woman or the boy
- 15 - este→ - will be die
- S4: claro que would be die OK but if it was an accident and the people would would die but / ? /
- S5: [mm] this is a picture - mm - first thing→ is a→ telephone - erm - pay an→d
- 20 S4: what's happen in this scene - what's happen in this scene tis something is asking
- S5: yes the man is asking - the→ other - no - the pol the policeman are erm
- S4: ambulance - what is asking for an ambu for a what for a
- 25 S5:[the man is asking] what kind of - there is a→ a man dead or what happend
- S5: there is an accident
- S4: ah there is an accident
- S5: yeah - er - there are
- 30 S4: [a] a man
- S5: a man - two man - two men - policemen it is two
- S4:[two policemen]
- S5: policemen and eh
- S4: somebody is hurt
- 35 S5: aha somebody's hurt
- S4: somebody's hurt - and
- S5: and they are there→ is an ambulance
- S4: [they] ah there is an ambulance OK for example - a - if there was an accident - the→ - somebody would ask - or call up for a - call up for an ambulance and - to the→ policeman to police stations
- S5: yes
- S4: and the police er the policeman - eh - brings eh an ambulance to pick up the - to pick up the→ - the somebody -
- 45 er - was in the - the the man or - who had an accident
- S5: yes
- S4: I'm going to ask you something OK
- S5: mm
- S4: for example - what happens whe→n - when you - when you get
- 50 out er when you leaves - your house late

S5: I'm hurry
 S4: ah you are a hurry
 S5: I'm hurry
 S4: ah for example and you have to drive your bicycle - and what
 55 - what happens - when drive er - slowly -
 S5: eh
 S4: not slowly no→ quickly
 S5: hurriedly I have to→
 S4: you have to more careful - or less careful
 60 S5: I have to go more carefully
 S4: you have to more careful why
 S5: because it's er→ - the traffic is er crowded
 S4: the traffic is crowded and you have to - drive the→ - the
 bicycle in a - in a safety form
 65 S5: aha
 S4: in a safety way that's right - OK
 S5: in this picture - a→ truck
 S4: the truck
 S5: the truck is stopped - and the man who
 70 S4: [no] you ask me about er
 what happen in
 S5: yeah
 S4: for example - you - you told me that there was a truck
 S5: yes
 75 S4: what else - for example - the the truck is it stopped - er
 because there was an accident
 S5: no maybe
 S4: OK - the→ - the driver stopped -
 S5: the truck
 80 S4: quickly - rapid quickly
 S5: [yes] yes of course
 S4: and ah - there are another - there are an and somebody is
 there another car or→ is there another people
 S5: [n-o] an another
 85 people
 S4: it's another another person OK then it's a person or a boy
 S5: [yes it's a]l
 or a girl
 S5: a man
 90 S4: a man - er he is in→ - he is in eh - he is in eh - he is -
 fall - fallden - fall down - he is fallen - fallen er -
 or is - or is he isn't he walking
 S5: [mm] no
 S4: he's
 95 S5: he's
 S4: riding a bicycle
 S5: oh yes / ? /
 S4: [he's riding] a bicycle oh ri - I forgot the riding -
 driving drive your bicycle
 100 S5: [driving] driving
 S4: OK
 S5: driving
 S4: ri he is riding a bicycle
 S5: yes

- 105 S4: yes
 S5: yes
 S4: OK - when he rides a bicycle - er I think that he was - in a hurry and they and they have - er they he hasn't concentrate what - what he - he - he is - he was going -
 110 to do
 S5: mhm
 S4: and the I think that - he - they try to - they try to er - erm - they try to - bump bump I don't know that bump is - he knocked
 115 S5: he knocked mhm
 S4: he knocked with - er - with the truck the truck aha
 S5: [the truck]

End of recording

Group C

- S6: ehm then a man is - ahm - he's on a bike and he is thinking in arriving on time to the work - so he didn't look at - the signs
 S8: mm
 5 S6: he is a - crossing - he's going to cross a street
 S8: myes
 S6: and the other side a truck is coming
 S8: mm
 S6: er - er
 10 S8: eh what s - situation is he - er he's almost - for to have an accident
 S6: mm yes ah but uhm
 S8: because the lorry's coming rather out of sight no
 S6: yes - and he didn't er
 15 S8: and he didn't see a way
 S6: yes
 S8: yes the man is riding a bike the bike - and - and the car - yeah at the at the moment that the man is going to cross the street - eh - come in a truck what happened there
 20 S7: I should've thought the man is on the floor - he was injured - by the truck - h'was lying on the floor
 S8: [you have the]
 S6: oh yeah
 S7: and the the truck driver - er - get off the car and he's going to help him - but the bicycle is all crushed
 25 S8: [mm] that's all

End of recording

Group D

S9: OK C - it's your turn
 S10: OK I'm going to start - there is a→ - a lorry and in the back of the lorry - the lorry a lorry yes
 S11: [there]
 5 S9: [and] an ambulance coming
 S10: the back no a van - a lorry a very heavy lorry - and erm - then at the back . but . on the road - there is a bicycle that has been damaged by the - I suppose by the same lorry
 10 - a a man that is - there - lying - unconscious . and there is another man wearing a hat - and a suit - and is going towards this - man that is lying on the road
 S11: to help maybe
 S10: yeah
 15 S11: mhm
 S9: OK now it's
 S10: [there] has been an accident there so
 S9: yes that's that
 S12: yah my pictures shows a man - who is - riding a bicycle -
 20 and is about to→ - er to→ - struck - with a→ - truck
 S11: with a truck
 S12: which is - this is about a just er→ - is a→ - almost falling
 S11: [almost going]
 / ? / - it's my picture
 25 S11: OK - in my picture - there's a man riding a bicycle by a street - and near the corner appear a truck
 S10: mm
 S11: but . he's just going er - he's at the middle of the street he's not really on the corner - and a truck is just appearing
 30 . the→ front part of the truck is just appearing by the corner
 S9: OK - in mine - er→ you can see there is a - little squaree you known on the top er - left - and there's a man - calling - making a phone call huh
 35 S10: mhm
 S9: and then in the big picture you can see an ambulance no and two -
 S12: right
 S9: you know policemen or - probably the people who were - were
 40 in the ambulance - they are carrying a man you know in a→
 S10: [mhm]
 S12: / ? /
 S9: what do you call that
 S10: yeah OK
 45 S12: esa
 S9: ah yes - and the other man - the man who made the phone call - he's just watching eh
 S10: mhm
 S9: so that's all
 50 S11: well - let's see→ the sequence of this one - I think this i
 it is one two three four
 S12: [this] [three 'n four]

S9,10: [two]
 S9: OK so L you have the first part
 55 S11: yes the man riding
 S10: [yes the man riding] - the man was driving
 S9: riding the→ bicycle along the street
 S11: [riding the bicycle almost getting to] the corner
 S12: [riding the bicycle]
 60 S10: mhm
 S12: [that's] right and then
 S11: [then] the second one it's L it's a
 S12: [who is] about
 to→ sh to→
 65 S11: he was on the corner of yours
 S12: yah he was on the corner 'n and a→ truck was er
 S9: [signaling]
 S10: was passing
 S12: passing the corner
 70 S9: [he's bee→n] he's been crashed
 S12: he's been crushed
 S10: mhm
 S9: mhm
 S11: then you are
 75 S10: [so yes] OK so the bicycle was damaged and the man -
 fall o' fall down - fell down on the floor - and
 S9: mhm
 S10: the other man who was going towards to help him
 S11: mhm
 80 S9: and now we have the man - the other man - making the phone
 S12: [he's calling the phone]
 call - and the ambulance is picking up the man OK
 S11: OK let's show the pictures if we're right number one
 S9,10,11,12: number two number three number four
 85 S11: very good it's OK we have a twenty

End of recording

Group E

S13: according to the scene ah we have in front of us I go I
 can see there that my picture shows the→ a sequence an event
 that occurred before this I also have the truck the back
 5 part of a truck there is just one man the one on the bicycle
 who has just crashed to the back part of the truck so I
 suppose that my picture comes first
 S14: [OK] mhm yeah all right
 yeah I I'm sure the picture I have comes er before the
 erm before the one er in the table erm in my picture I
 10 think we→ should er already start describing our pictures
 OK so we can say it quicker in my picture I see erm I see
 a fellow riding a bike
 S13: mhm
 S14: and er approaching to a corner

- 15 S13: mhm
 S14: where we can see a truck it seems to me that th this fellow is not er l-looking is not looking at the truck which is er approaching the corner so
 S13: [mhm hel must be
 20 thinking in something else maybe
 S14: yeah maybe
 S13: distracted
 S14: because he's just er looking at looking at the road he's er
 S13:[mm]
 25 bending well this is ah a racing bike
 S13: yes
 S14: but er besides that he is l just looking down looking at the road but not looking b'fore him
 S13: mhm
 30 S14: OK it's what do you have J
 S15: show showing
 S13: you cannot show your picture
 S15: I'm very / ? /
 S13: because of what he describes according to what he described
 35 and what I have told you that my picture I suppose that what I have in my picture comes before because I see the same man but before this he is now on the floor lying on the floor you have to tell us which is the sequence you think you have
 40 S15: s how he sequence
 S13: we ha-ve to- order
 S14: [never mind tell us your picture] what do you have in your picture what do you have
 S15: [I have a-] man with a- some eh police two
 45 policemen
 S14: OK
 S15: erm carrying- a man I suppose erm he is a-
 S13: the one lying on the floor
 S15: [the onelyou said right oh er- a driver is
 50 in calling in phone calling by phone erm I suppose a
 S14:[yeah]
 hospital or
 S13: an ambulance maybe
 S14: [OK]
 55 S15: an ambulance eh
 S14: yeah OK so a a a a couple of er a couple of policemen are carrying him are carrying him de decoratly
 S15: / ? /
 S14: and er the the truck driver is 's making a telephone call
 60 S15: m yeah
 S14: OK fine that's all
 S15: [sil]
 S13: mhm so I think that the sequence we have is the this way you have the first sequence I have the second the third
 65 one is the one on the table and she has the last one
 S14: OK that's right so what do you have in your picture
 S13: what I have in my picture is this the man just e er
 S15:[yeah]

crashing into the back of of the truck just before
 70 S14:[crashing]
 he fells o on the floor
 S15: yes
 S13: and what she has - next I I suppose is - as the man is hurt
 the driver is - telephoning
 75 S15: mm
 S13: I imagine someone or
 S15: sure
 S13: maybe it could come before I do someone who
 S14: [someone to to] to support
 80 him
 S13: to support him maybe bu because you know it's in n cases
 S14: [yeah]
 S13: like you're nervous
 S14: yeah OK that's right
 85 S15: [mm]
 S13: I imagine
 S14: [so I] think this is already done
 S15: aha
 S14: done and done
 90 S13: [so] your man was just coming - near the corner but
 was not looking
 S14: aha she he was not looking before him - he was just looking
 S13:[mm] [aha]
 on the road
 95 S15: / ? /
 S14: bent over
 S15: erm
 S14: OK yes so my picture is number one
 S13: [hm] my picture is number two
 100 - the third one is the one on the table and
 S14: fourth the fourth is J's
 S15: [J H's]
 S13: is a consequence
 S14: the summary is like this - a fellow riding was approaching a
 105 corner - where a truck was about to cross - the truck had
 almost already - crossed the street . when this fellow -
 crashed into the back of the truck - the young man fell down
 at the floor hurt - the truck driver stopped -
 S13: and gave him some help
 110 S14: and went to see him - later the police came to the - to the
 accident - and took the hurt man to the hospital - the
 driver 'd remained there and made a telephone call
 S13: maybe to his lawyer
 S14: [to ask] for some aid

End of recording

Group G

- S20: I have a picture with a man - er with a truck - stopping -
erm - a man lying on the floor and a crushed bicycle
- S22: OK an a er - my picture is - I here I have a - an ambulance
- a - an ambulance - erm - erm - out of the ambulance there
5 are three men - two of them are taking a man which is sick
- in a small bed - they are taking into the - car - and -
there is another picture - in the corner of my picture - a
smaller one - ah - eh - a man is - is - is telephone is
telephoning is - calling - is - calling - calling by phone
- 10 S21: I have a man who was - eh very quickly i in his bicycle -
uhm he is eh arrive - near the at the corner - in the corner
eh there is a car - who is - eh - walking who is walking
- S20: so - you have an ambulance I have a man lying on the floor
and she has a man driving his bicycle
- 15 S22: I think that - the man driving a bicycle on a bicycle
is is first
S20: [is first he was] going
S22: aha
S20: then the truck - crashed the bicycle and then - the
20 ambulance came and took the man to the hospital
S22: I think your picture is the second one because the man is on
the floor - and after that - eh I have - I have one picture
S20:[yes]
but theh there is a - a smaller picture in the in the
25 S20:[mhm]
corner of my picture a man is calling
S20: mhm
S22: I think that he is calling to the ambulance to the hospital -
then the ambulance can - come - and take the man who is on
30 the floor - eh - har who's hurt - and . these these three
men - o three men of the ambulance take - take this sick
men man - into the ambulance to take - him to the hospital
- S21: I have the first picture - I think eh in this picture that
the man - eh who is wurring - erm - she - she had the
35 accident he had the accident
S20: - so first he was driving his bicycle then the - truck
crashed the bicycle and then he was taken to a hospital
S22: mhm
S20: in an ambulance - that's all

End of recording

Group H

- S24: who's going to start
S23: you
S24: this is G speaking - well here in this piece of - the
story - I've a picture where - I can see an ambulance - and
5 eh three men well . two of them the three of them are
policemen - and they are carrying - ahm -

- S23: well they bring a man
 S24: they are carrying a man - in ahm - erm - in a portable bed
 10 - the one that the hospitals use to carry people that got
 an accident - and they're taking him - oh from the - from
 the road - he was on the road - OK but they have just come
 because - a man - has called the police I mean the people in charge of looking for these people that have had
 15 accidents - he's phoned them - right - so actually in the
 picture there are two policemen and the man who
 telephoned - the hospital
 S23: yes - in my picture I can see a man who's riding a bicycle -
 he's - well . he's probably a - in a - high speed - and er
 he's just getting near a corner of a street - and a big truck
 20 is - appearing - at the corner - I suppose that he's
 probably going to - be ran over by this big truck - and I
 think this er the previous picture than the one - G said -
 because in that picture she said that there is a man who's
 being carried to the hospital - I think this man is going to
 25 be run over by - he's going to be crushed by this - big
 truck
 S26: OK in the picture - there's - there's a man lying on the
 floor . the bicycle is one side - and the truck is - em long
 - / ? / there is another man that's coming
 30 to help the man that's on the floor - and er I think it's
 the - the picture that comes after J C - eh because here
 the man - has already done - has already had the accident
 S25: ya in my picture erm - in my picture I see a man who is
 still in - his bicycle - but - erm - he's going to - very
 35 - - he's going to be on the on the floor very soon -
 because - ah - he had an accident - an accident with ah - a
 truck - the place is on the corner - of the street - erm -
 in a few minutes this man is going to be in trouble
 S26: OK
 40 S23: yes
 S24: so let's try the story again
 S23: no er we don't have to join the pictures yet we have to
 share to say the story orally first - and then to show our
 pictures to each
 45 S26: mhm
 S24: but how do we do when we're all supposed to be helped by by
 S25:[yes]
 the pictures
 S23: just - just by saying a just by - what we have said - for
 50 for example I think that the story is about a man who stole
 a bicycle - and was running away from the police - and he
 didn't notice that the truck was coming from a in a corner -
 and he was er - he had the accident in the corner
 S24: [O K] he was
 55 hit by the truck O K he was hit by the truck - and he
 S23 [yes yes]
 S26.[mhm]
 S25:[mm]
 was seriously injured
 60 S23,25,26: yes

S24: that's why the man who saw this scene phoned the hospital
 S26: [somebody called]
 somebody called the ambulance
 S24: [yes he phoned] the hospital - and the
 65 police came in an ambulance to take this man to the hospital
 to see if they can help him
 S25,26: mhm
 S23: [mhm] that's the story
 S25: yes that's the story
 70 S24: [that's the story] OK we
 S23: well we can see our pictures now
 S24: all right
 S26: my picture is number one
 S24: OK
 75 S23: [ah]
 S25: mine is then number two
 S24: - can you see the pictures
 S23: I think this is the accident itself - what do you think -
 yes
 80 S24: so the man who - the the
 S26: so here - here the accident has happened
 S24: [this is] the man remember
 S25: [that's all right]
 this man er seriously injured is the one who was riding the
 85 S23: [yeah]
 bicycle
 S23: yes
 S26: that's it
 S23: yes but he didn't steal his bicycle at all
 90 S24: I think he was in a hurry
 S23: he was in a hurry he was just in a hurry
 S24: [just in a hurry] he didn't stole it
 S25: [yes]
 S23: he didn't s steal it
 95 S24: mhm
 S23: and er he didn't see that the truck was er coming at the
 corner
 S26: mm
 S25: we don't know if he has stolen the bicycle
 100 S23: no we don't know
 S24: no
 S23: because you say that he stole it
 S24: J C's imaginations
 S23: [/ ? /] he didn't steal it - and he hit just the
 105 back - part of the truck
 S24,25,26: mhm
 S23: and you know someth I think it was the driver
 who came to help him because he was embarrassed
 S24: [ah yeah it was the driver who who s] who
 110 S26: [the driver who tried to came] to
 help him
 S23: / ? / he phoned the police
 S24: right
 S23: mm

115 S24: perhaps he's going to go to prison then before they have a
 S23: [I don't]
 think so because
 S24: they they
 S26: [it depends] if the man is / ? /
 120 S23: yeah in the first picture you see that the man is driving
 the bicycle - without - looking where he's going
 S24: yeah - he was in a hurry - it looks like a school boy or
 perhaps a man who was po ah perhaps even a postman he
 deliver because of the bag it has at the back of the
 125 S23: probably
 S24: of the bicycle
 S26: probably
 S24: mm
 S23: could be - but I think it's an adult - mer - he doesn't look
 130 like a schoolboy
 S24: right
 S23: because he's wearing a black suit
 S26: [then he was] riding a bicycle looking
 on the floor
 135 S24: yeah he was in a hurry - that's why it looks like he was a
 student on a bicycle that's what R said
 S23: mm
 S24: you see the bicycle is a little damaged poor wheel - the
 (laughter)
 140 front wheel is damaged terribly
 S23: [yes] and they carried him to
 hospital
 S24: mm they carry the man to a hospital - that's the end of the
 story

End of the recording

Group I

S29: we have er in this case a game instructions - (reads
 instructions) OK - let's begin
 S27: aha first want to begin
 S29: [OK in] my picture
 5 S27: one of us talk about our picture
 S29: I have ahm - a man - diving a bicycle - and he is arriving
 - to the longer street - but erm - in that road there is -
 a car - a truck - is begin to grows - there - OK
 S27: mm - ahm - ts - number two is on the table
 10 S29: I suppose
 S27: yeah number two is on the table - it's ah the man is
 starting to ride the bicycle - and then a truck is -
 passing by - and hits - the bicycle
 S29: [yeah] with a truck - OK -
 15 who's got a
 S27: I I third - the the sequence - of the card on the table is
 the man

S28: aha
 S27: was hit - by the truck - and he's - lying down on the floor
 20 on the street - the bicycle is broken next to him
 S29: OK
 S27: the→ - the driver's truck - is ah - 's coming to see him -
 you know but - I think - that's - what happened with him
 with - with the man→ - on the street
 25 S29: [OK] [and the] driver - truck is
 S28:[well]
 worried about that
 S27: yeah
 S29: accident
 30 S27: mhm
 S28: in this picture I can see the driver m truck - he's calling -
 to the police - 's calling the police - an-d I can see the→m
 - two policemen - is - taking the man who is erm
 S29: the small head
 35 S28: what - who - who had erm - the accident
 S27: mhm
 S28: eh - this - este er
 S27: [thel police is take the ambulance
 S28: yeah into the ambulance
 40 S27: into the ambulance
 S29: this is the final sequence
 S28: I think
 S29: this the final sequence
 S27: mhm
 45 S29: OK - but I got the first

End of the recording

Group J

S33: I er in my picture I have er - I have er - erm - it shows
 - that er there is an accident erm - a big truck - full of
 er - er - mercancy - erm - shot er→ - shoot shooted - a man
 5 who is er→ - on the street - er - seems erm - that he he
 was in a→ driving a→ - bicycle - and another one is eh -
 sgoing to→ help him
 S32: in my picture there is a man with a there→ w-ith - in my
 picture there is a man with a - with a - er riding with his
 bicycle - eh he is crossing→ the street there is a→ bus -
 10 and there are - several s shores - m what's that - in the→
 back - of the bicycle there is a bagsh - bag - that's all
 S31: in my picture there are a - a man
 S32: there is
 S31: there is a man - with his - with his bicycle - trying to
 15 catch a→ - a truck - with mercancy
 S30: ahm - in my picture I have a man - that is taking to an
 ambulance - eh next to the ambulance there is another man
 who's looking at him - and - as I understand this picture
 that man phoned - to the hospital - so they→ came to the

20 street - to pick him up - erm - I think this is the last
picture
S32: yes eh - I th I think this is the first - can you see - that
right
S30: no
25 S32: oh yes - because a man - is
S30: he's just - riding his bike
S33: [I think that]
S32: [and] a bus cross - a man is / ? / -
and a bus - how d'you say
30 S30: is crossing - the street
S33: [street]
S32: [the street]
S30: OK so - I you have the first picture
S32: yes then you
35 S30: [then S] could have the second one -
S33: I have the third one
S30: [O the] third one
S32: of course and you the fourth one
S30: [I'n I have the last] OK so we're very smart

End of the recording
